

THE ARDEN  
SHAKESPEARE



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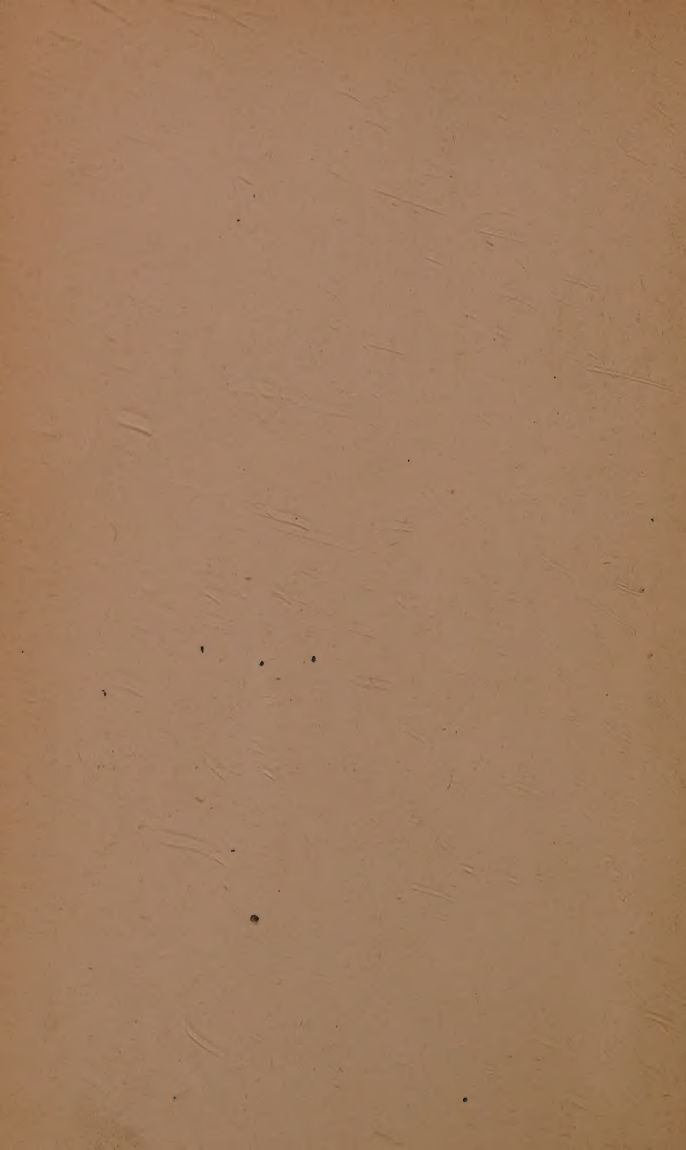
RICHARD II

Winchester  
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Compliments  
H. P. ...



Woman's College of Alabama,  
Montgomery, Ala.

**DISCARD**  
HUNTINGDON





Heath's English Classics

THE TRAGEDY

OF

KING RICHARD II

EDITED BY

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PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ABERYSTWYTH, ETC.

*Down, down I come, like glistering Phaethon,  
Wanting the manage of unruly jades.*

**Woman's College of Alabama,  
Montgomery, Ala.**

BOSTON, U. S. A.

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## GENERAL PREFACE.

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IN this edition of SHAKESPEARE an attempt is made to present the greater plays of the dramatist in their literary aspect, and not merely as material for the study of philology or grammar. Criticism purely verbal and textual has only been included to such an extent as may serve to help the student in the appreciation of the essential poetry. Questions of date and literary history have been fully dealt with in the Introductions, but the larger space has been devoted to the interpretative rather than the matter-of-fact order of scholarship. Aesthetic judgments are never final, but the Editors have attempted to suggest points of view from which the analysis of dramatic motive and dramatic character may be profitably undertaken. In the Notes likewise, while it is hoped that all unfamiliar expressions and allusions have been adequately explained, yet it has been thought even more important to consider the dramatic value of each scene, and the part which it plays in relation to the whole. These general principles are common to the whole series; in detail each Editor is alone responsible for the play or plays that have been intrusted to him.

Every volume of the series has been provided with a Glossary, an Essay upon Metre, and an Index; and Appendices have been added upon points of special interest, which could not conveniently be treated in the Introduction or the Notes. The text is based by the several Editors on that of the *Globe* edition: the only omissions made are those that are unavoidable in an edition likely to be used by young students.

By the systematic arrangement of the introductory matter, and by close attention to typographical details, every effort has been made to provide an edition that will prove convenient in use.



## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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To the above account of the general design of the series, it may be well to add a word upon the special aims of the present edition of *Richard the Second*. While endeavouring to give prominence throughout to the strictly literary qualities of the play, the Editor has sought to take cognizance of all branches of Shakespearian scholarship which fall within the purview of an English *History*. Many of these are, indeed, as yet too backward to be adequately utilized. The historical study of Elizabethan style and syntax, for instance, is, in spite of some excellent beginnings, quite immature; that of Elizabethan prosody has to be treated with a far stricter regard to historical phonetics than has yet been done. An educational book would in no case be a proper place for the full investigation of these matters. Yet it is hoped that, here and there, some hints have been thrown out which the student may be tempted to develop and expand. Throughout, indeed, the Editor has aimed less at supplying a complete apparatus of needful information, than a collection of starting-points,—of 'openings' in the eternal chess-game of Shakespearian study,—which may call the student's own instincts and judgment into play.

In dealing with the relations of the drama to history, an attempt has been made to separate two obviously distinct problems habitually confused: the investigation of Shakespeare's divergences from his sources, and that of the discrepancies between his representation of history and history as now known. The former is a purely literary question, and one of capital importance for the student of Shakespeare; the latter concerns the student of Shakespeare only in so far as he is a student of history. The former teaches us how Shakespeare handled what he took to be history in the interests of the drama; the latter is a measure of precaution to secure that



our understanding of history shall not be impaired by our study of Shakespeare.

The Outline of Prosody, again, aims at emphasizing the distinction, likewise often overlooked, between those qualities of verse which belong to the *speech*, its material, and those which belong to its metrical form. The exemplary treatment of Chaucer's verse by Ten Brink (*Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*) has here served as model. A small but needful step has also been taken towards the phonetic handling of Elizabethan verse by the use of a special symbol for the syllabic value of 'vowel-likes'—a symbol already made familiar to the philological reader by Mr. Sweet's *History of English Sounds* and Brugmann's *Grundriss*.

One other symbol used throughout may also require a word of explanation,—perhaps of defence. The early Modern English of the Elizabethans is no doubt connected by continuous development with the English of our own time, and, though the divergences are more palpable, with Middle English. Yet, the comparative slightness of the differences between our tongue and theirs makes it the more needful to insist—not for the cultivated reader, but for the average student and the average schoolboy—upon the fact that theirs *is* a tongue, with its own laws, idioms and grammar; and not merely a more or less 'ungrammatical' variation of the English we speak. It has therefore throughout been referred to as Elizabethan English (E.E.). The wonderful ease and pliancy of Elizabethan English will never be brought home to the learner until historical grammar has been transferred from the patronage of logic to that of psychology; in other words, until it has been recognized that each language becomes an instrument of thought by means of a host of adaptations and transfers which depend, not on the laws of right thinking, but on the special instincts and experiences of the speaking race; that *Use* is founded upon *Abuse*, and that Correctness is only a name for Anomaly grown habitual.

The Glossary is intended to include all words at which the reader is likely to stumble; while those of more elusive difficulty, which he is liable rather to glide innocently over, are

brought directly before him in the Notes. The articles seek not merely to state the Shakespearian meaning of each word, but to give some clue to its history. The etymological dictionaries of Skeat and Kluge have here naturally been of service; but the Editor has endeavoured to exercise an independent criticism. On the other hand, for the relatively few words already handled in the *New English Dictionary*, he has been content to draw freely upon that great treasury of concrete Anglistic. Dr. Murray has, so far as the present generation is concerned, done his work once for all, and it would be affectation to pretend to revise results built up with so sound and so subtle an intelligence upon so catholic a basis. The Editor is also indebted to Dr. Murray's kindness for the loan of the yet unpublished quotations upon the words *pelting*, *pelt*, *pelter*. In the article upon the first-named word, these have been freely used. For the arrangement and conclusions of that article, however, the Editor is alone responsible.

Finally, the Editor desires to thank his valued friend and colleague, Professor Hales, for most kindly reading the whole of the proof-sheets. The book has in many places benefited materially by his exact scholarship, wide reading, and fine taste.

C. H. H.



# CONTENTS

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	Page
GENERAL PREFACE, - - - - -	iii
EDITOR'S PREFACE, - - - - -	v
INTRODUCTION, - - - - -	7
DRAMATIS PERSONÆ, - - - - -	36
THE TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD II, - - -	37
NOTES, - - - - -	105
OUTLINE OF SHAKESPEARE'S PROSODY, - -	185
GLOSSARY, - - - - -	200
INDEX OF WORDS, - - - - -	209
GENERAL INDEX, - - - - -	211





# INTRODUCTION.

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## I. LITERARY HISTORY OF THE PLAY.

§ 1. RICHARD THE SECOND, the second in historical order of Shakespeare's English Histories, was first printed in 1597, having been written, probably, three or four years earlier. The first edition (in quarto), which is also the first authentic edition of any of Shakespeare's undoubted plays, was entered in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 29th, 1597, and bears the following title:

Texts.

"The | Tragedie of King Ri- | chard the se- | cond. | *As it hath beene publikely acted | by the right Honourable the | Lorde Chamberlaine his Ser- | uants.* | LONDON | Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and | are to be sold at his Shop in Paules church yard at | the signe of the Angel. | 1597 | ”.

A portion of the edition seems to have been printed from a corrected version of the MS.; of this portion a single copy remains, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire.<sup>1</sup> All specimens of the edition omit the deposition scene, act iv. 154-318, and it was probably omitted in the representation also, as too dangerously suggestive, in spite of the sympathy it awakens for Richard, at a time when the dethronement of Elizabeth was being enjoined as a duty upon her Catholic subjects. "Wot ye not, I am Richard II.?" Elizabeth is reported to have said. The omission was repeated in the second edition, 1598. It was only in the third, 1608, when Elizabeth's death had removed the main objection to it, that this part of the scene was published, the addition being announced on the title-page of some copies in the words: "With new additions of the Parliament Sceane and the deposing of King Richard".

<sup>1</sup> A useful Facsimile of this has been edited by Messrs. W. A. Harrison and W. P. Daniel.

But it is certain that the 'additions' formed part of the original play, both because they are indistinguishable in style from the rest, and because the words which immediately follow in the earliest text, "A woeful pageant have we here beheld" (iv. 319), can only be applied to the deposition scene. A fourth quarto edition, in 1615, shows the continued popularity of the play. In the first folio edition of Shakespeare, 1623, the text of the fourth quarto was in the main reproduced, but with the omission of several passages which it was perhaps usual to omit on the stage. "In the 'new additions of the Parliament Sceane' it would appear that the defective text of the quarto had been corrected from the author's MS. For this part therefore the First Folio is our highest authority; for all the rest of the play the first quarto affords the best text."<sup>1</sup> A fifth quarto was printed in 1634, from the Second Folio (1633); its readings "sometimes agree with one or other of the earlier quartos, and in a few cases are entirely independent of previous editions".<sup>2</sup>

§ 2. Of the performances of the play during Elizabeth's and James's reigns we have no certain details. There are, indeed, three records of the performance of plays upon the story of Richard; but one refers certainly, and another probably, to a play or plays other than Shakespeare's; while as to the third there is no evidence either way.

(i) On the eve of the intended outbreak of Essex's conspiracy, Feb. 8, 1601, *'the play of deposing King Richard II.'* was performed before the conspirators, at the instigation of one of them, Sir Gilly Merrick, apparently by way of whetting their appetite for the similar enterprise they had in hand. The players, we are told, had at first demurred, on the ground that "the play was old and that they should have a loss in playing it, because few would come to it"; but an extra payment of 40 shillings was offered them, "and thereupon played it was".<sup>3</sup> The only

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Shakespeare*, vol. iv. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Bacon's speech in Merrick's trial.

player whose name we know, Augustine Phillips, belonged to Shakespeare's company, the Lord Chamberlain's Servants. On the other hand, the description of the play as old and unpopular, and the still stronger term used by Camden in describing the event ("*exoletam* tragoediam de tragica abdicatione regis Ric. II."—"an *obsolete* tragedy"), make it very improbable that this was Shakespeare's play.

(ii) The second performance is that recorded to have taken place on board the ship of Captain Keeling, off Sierra Leone, on Sept. 30, 1607. The record occurs in the captain's journal. "Sep. 30. Capt. Hawkins dined with me, when my companions acted Kinge Richard the Second." It is worth noting that *Hamlet* had been acted on Sept. 5, and that on Sept. 31 (Captain Hawkins having again been invited to a 'fish-dinner') *Hamlet* was again acted "which I permitt", the captain naively adds, "to keepe my people from idlenes and unlawfull games or sleepe". Cf. *Notices of Dramatic performances on board the ship Dragon in 1607*,...ed. Rundall, 1849; quoted by Halliwell, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, p. 517. Here the collocation of *Hamlet* affords a faint presumption that Shakespeare's *Richard* was meant, but hardly more.

(iii) The third performance was that described by Dr. Simon Forman, 30th April, 1611, at the Globe. But as this contained Wat Tyler's revolt and other scenes of bloodshed and violence not found in Shakespeare's play, it has interest here only as showing the popularity of the subject. It is possible that this was the old play of 1601. We are not therefore entitled to assert (with the Clarendon Press Editors) that there were *two* plays on the subject besides Shakespeare's.<sup>1</sup> Possibly, as Prof. Hales suggests, the old play was in *two parts*.

In the Restoration period the play held its ground, after

<sup>1</sup> The existence of an old play is confirmed by Shakespeare's evident assumption that his audience were familiar with the subject in some detail. What could they otherwise have made of such an allusion as York's to the "prevention of poor Bolingbroke about his marriage" (ii. i. 167), of which not a word is said elsewhere in the play?

undergoing extensive alteration at the hands of the third-rate poet and psalm translator, Nahum Tate. In the eighteenth century it was further 'adapted' by Theobald and by Goodhall,<sup>1</sup> and, again, in 1815, by Wroughton, for the memorable performance by Edmund Kean. This last adaptation, says Hazlitt, who witnessed that performance and wrote a critique of it, "is the best that has been attempted: for it consists entirely of omissions, except one or two scenes, which are idly tacked on to the conclusion".<sup>2</sup> The growing reverence for Shakespeare was, in fact, restricting the business of the 'adapter'. Hazlitt (one of the finest of English dramatic critics) thought Kean's playing of Richard too energetic; he "made it a character of passion...whereas it is a character of pathos". A generation later, and the play enjoyed one of the earliest of those faithful and painstaking 'revivals' in which Mr. Irving, in our own day, has taken the lead. It has been felicitously described by Mr. Pater in his *Appreciations*,—"the very person of the king based on the stately old portrait in Westminster Abbey, 'the earliest extant contemporary likeness of any English sovereign', the grace, the winning pathos, the sympathetic voice of the player, the tasteful archæology confronting vulgar modern London with a scenic reproduction, for once really agreeable, of the London of Chaucer. In the hands of Kean the play became like an exquisite performance on the violin".<sup>3</sup> Yet the play is not well adapted to attract a popular audience. Its studious avoidance of the grosser kinds of effect, of noise and bustle, of obvious and harrowing tragedy, make it "ill-suited", as Coleridge says, "for our modern large theatres".<sup>4</sup> On a first reading or hearing it may seem bald: its wealth of poetry and meaning are disclosed only by intimate study. It has therefore always been more a favourite with the critic than with the general reader. But the critic's estimate of it has been

<sup>1</sup> Ward: *Hist. of Dram. Literature*, i. 388.

<sup>2</sup> *Criticisms of the English Stage*, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> W. Pater: *Appreciations*, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> S. T. Coleridge: *Lectures, &c.*, ed. Ashe, p. 256.

extraordinarily high. "In itself, and for the closet," says Coleridge,<sup>1</sup> "I feel no hesitation in placing it as the first and most admirable of all Shakespeare's purely historical plays." And the most brilliant and sagacious of German critics of Shakespeare, F. Kreyssig, endorses Coleridge's judgment upon what he calls "this masterpiece of political poetry".<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE DATE OF THE PLAY.

§ 3. The only definite date at our disposal in connexion with the production of *Richard II.* is the publication of the first quarto edition in 1597. The play was probably written several years earlier; but the probability rests wholly upon internal evidence. One piece of external evidence has indeed been alleged:—the resemblance (pointed out by Grant White) of certain passages of this play to certain others found in the second edition of Daniel's narrative poem *Civil Wars*, published in 1595; but these show, at the most, that one of the poets borrowed from the other; that is, that *Richard II.* was produced either before 1595 or—after.<sup>3</sup> Instead of helping us, therefore, to the date of *Richard II.*, this fact can only be interpreted at all when that date is known. We are thus thrown back upon internal evidence.

§ 4. Internal evidence of date, in questions of Shakespearian criticism, is derived chiefly from three classes of facts, which differ much in definiteness and in cogency; facts of *metre*, of *style*, and of *construction*. Metrical facts are the most definite and palpable of all facts of literary form. The variations in a poet's use of rhyme

(a) External Evidence.

(b) Internal Evidence.  
(1) Metre.

<sup>1</sup> S. T. Coleridge: *Lectures, &c.*, ed. Ashe, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Kreyssig: *Vorlesungen*, i. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Hales appositely refers to the rebuke civilly enough administered to 'sweet honey-dropping' Daniel in the *Return from Parnassus* as indicating on which side the 'theft', if there was one, probably lay—

"Only let him more sparingly make use  
Of others' wit, and use his own the more,  
That well may scorn base imitation."



or rhythm, of pauses or double-endings, can be observed and stated with a good deal of precision; and where these variations are known to have proceeded continuously, in the same direction, they give us a clue to the date of any doubtful work. Even when we do not know this, but only that there is a broad difference between his earlier and his later practice, we obtain a presumption as to the date of work which in metrical character approaches either extreme. Now there are four points of metre in which Shakespeare's earlier and later practice are wholly unlike or even diametrically opposed. These are (i) *rhyme*, which steadily diminishes, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, where it occurs in 62 verses out of every 100, to *A Winter's Tale*, where it occurs in none; (ii) 'double-endings',<sup>1</sup> which increase from 1 *Henry VI.*, 8 per cent, to *Tempest*, 35 per cent; (iii) 'light-endings', which increase from *Taming of the Shrew*, 8 per cent, to *Cymbeline*, 46 per cent; (iv) 'speech-endings not coincident with verse-endings' (i.e. the same line divided between two or more speakers), which increase from *Henry VI.*, 1 speech in 100, to *A Winter's Tale*, 88 in 100.<sup>2</sup>

These tests are obviously not of equal value. The use of *rhyme*, in particular, as essentially deliberate and conscious, inevitably underwent fluctuations. "We can perceive that Shakespeare deliberately employs rhyme for certain definite purposes. It would be an error to conclude that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* preceded *The Comedy of Errors* because it contains a larger proportion of rhyming lines, until we had first decided whether special incentives to rhyme did not exist in the case of that comedy of Fairyland."<sup>3</sup>

So again, the 'double-ending test' is of little use to us in studying the first half of his career; since it is pretty evident that, during this time, he made experiments, admitting double-endings now more and now less freely, and only after 1600

<sup>1</sup> For the explanation of these terms see Dowden's *Primer*, p. 39 f.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers are taken from the latest and most exact computation, that of G. König in his *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen* (Trübner, 1888).

<sup>3</sup> Dowden, *Shakspeare Primer*, p. 45. The whole of this page should be carefully studied.

settling down into a growing habituation to their rich and varied effects. Thus the two parts of *Henry IV.* were no doubt written in immediate succession: but the 1622 blank verses of the First contain 60, the 1417 of the Second, 203 'double-endings'.

The value of test (iv) is somewhat diminished by the relative scantiness of the material on which it is based,—the figures here denoting *speeches* not *lines*. But both (iii) and (iv) are superior to the others in being far less liable to vary with the variations of subject-matter. They are *traits* of expression, like the habitual pitch or key of a speaker's voice; not *means* of expression, like his use of emphasis or accent.

The four tests may then be dealt with in two ways. We may reduce the risk of error by taking their collective evidence, or we may consult the more trustworthy tests alone. Neither plan can yield more than a presumption; but a presumption multiplied a certain number of times becomes a formidable argument. The following table gives the results of the tests as applied to the English *Histories*, and also, for convenience of comparison, to *Romeo and Juliet*. *Henry VIII.*, as being of a much later time, and only in part Shakespeare's, is neglected. The plays are arranged in the order which results from the collective evidence of the tests. It will be seen that this closely corresponds with the evidence of (iii), the most trustworthy, taken alone—

	1 H. 6)	2, 3 H. 6	R. 3	(R. and J.)	K. J.	R. 2	1 H. 4	2 H. 4	H. 5
Test i.	10·0	3·0	3·5	17·2	4·5	18·6	2·7	2·9	3·2
„ ii.	8·2	13·7	19·5	8·2	6·3	11	5·1	16·3	20·5
„ iii.	10·4	10·	13·1	14·2	17·7	19·9	22·8	21·4	21·8
„ iv.	0·5	1·0	2·9	14·9	12·1	7·3	14·2	16·8	18·3

The evidence of metre then affords a double *presumption* that *Richard II.* falls between *Richard III.* and *Henry IV.*, and is nearly contemporary with *Romeo and Juliet* and *King John*. It also entitles us to urge that the extraordinary abundance of rhyme, nowhere approached in Shakespeare's

other Histories, marks a deliberate experiment and not a phase of growth. Those, moreover, who place our play before *Richard III.* because it contains about five times as much rhyme, are bound to place it also before such obviously immature plays as the second and third parts of *Henry VI.*, which contain still less rhyme than *Richard III.* How such a 'deliberate experiment' may be accounted for we shall see presently.

§ 5. *Richard II.* is conspicuous among the Histories for a

(2) Style. certain rhetorical ingenuity of style, a lavish use of point and epigram, which, like its wealth of rhymes, can only be paralleled in the early comedies, and perhaps in *Romeo and Juliet*.

This quality, however, instead of being equally diffused throughout the play, is principally concentrated in the speech of two characters—Richard and Gaunt. It is a dramatic artifice rather than an involuntary trait of style. Shakespeare has made a certain delight in epigrammatic word-play characteristic of both. Such a habit accords obviously enough with Richard's other traits—with his brilliant but puerile fancy, with his boyish turn of mind in general. It surprises more perhaps in the ripe and 'time-honoured' Lancaster; but that Shakespeare used it deliberately is even clearer in his case than in Richard's. "Can sick men play so nicely with their names?" the dying Gaunt is asked, as he pauses in his string of bitter jests. "No, misery makes sport to mock itself", is his reply. Throughout Gaunt's part verbal epigram is made to contribute to express the deep and eloquent passion of his nature, just as in Richard it gives point to his facile fancy. It is a mark of Shakespeare's middle period thus to discriminate character by the aid of distinctions of style in verse. In his early work all drawing of character is comparatively broad and superficial; in his later, the effect is got rather by profound insight into men's thoughts and feelings themselves, than by nice imitation of their modes of utterance. While, however, the style of *Richard II.* is by

no means that of a very early play, it stands clearly apart from that of the later histories. The blank verse, though often singularly eloquent, has still a touch of constraint, of symmetrical stateliness, of art not wholly at ease; while that of *Henry IV.* has a breadth and largeness of movement, an unsought greatness of manner, which marks the consummate artist who no longer dons his singing robes when he sings.

§ 6. The immense variety of subjects which Shakespeare handled, and the (after all) limited number of his plays, makes it much harder to detect the changes in his method of construction than the changes in his <sup>(3) Construction.</sup> metre or his style. We can rarely be quite sure that a change which seems due to riper art is not prompted by difference of subject. The nearest approach to *criteria* of such change is the following. (1) In the early comedies there is an evident delight in *symmetry of plan* (as in the three lords and three ladies of *Love's Labour's Lost*, the two pairs of twins in *Comedy of Errors*, &c.; cf. Dowden, p. 38). (2) In the Histories there is a growing emancipation from two influences—that of historical tradition, and that of his great contemporary Marlowe. Let us examine *Richard II.* from these two points of view.

(a) As will be seen more in detail in the next section, *Richard II.* is conspicuous for its close agreement with the Chronicle. The deliberate variations are insignificant, and there is no approach to the free and prodigal invention which produced the Falstaff scenes of *Henry IV.*, though the tradition of “the skipping king”, who “ambled up and down With shallow jesters and rash bavin wits”,<sup>1</sup> provided an opening for them. But this close agreement must not be confounded with servility such as we find in much of *Henry VI.* If Shakespeare here follows history closely it is because history happens to provide him with what he wants. If he does not materially alter what he takes, it is because he has carefully selected what did not need to be materially altered. It is

<sup>1</sup> *Henry IV.* iii. 2. 60.

significant that, though the play is called *Richard II.*, it deals not with the reign, but only with the catastrophe which closed it—a single event of absorbing interest, which gives the play a classical unity of effect quite foreign to the tumultuous complexity of the previous histories. A contemporary dramatist had, as we have seen, made a *Richard II.* on the older plan—a chronicle history in which the exciting events of the former part of the reign are crowded together. One trace only survives in Shakespeare's play of the earlier, cruder method—the scenes in the fifth act relating to Aumerle's conspiracy—a somewhat irrelevant appendix to the essential action of the drama.<sup>1</sup> This criterion, therefore, so far as it goes, supports the view that the play falls between *Richard III.* and *Henry IV.*

(b) The relation of *Richard II.* to the influence of Marlowe throws a more definite light upon its date. In 2 and 3 *Henry Edward II.* and *VI.* Shakespeare was perhaps his coadjutor, in *Richard II.* *Richard III.* he wrote under the spell of his genius; in *Henry IV.* he is entirely himself. *Richard II.* is the work of a man who has broken decisively with the Marlowesque influence, but yet betrays its recent hold upon him, partly by violent reaction and partly by involuntary reminiscence. In *Richard III.* he had treated a subject of Marlowesque grandeur and violence in the grandiose manner of Marlowe; in the story of Richard II. there was little scope for such treatment. Marlowe had himself, however, in *Edward II.* shown how powerfully he could handle the tragedy of royal weakness; and the resemblance of subject throws into strong relief the different methods of the two dramatists. Marlowe has woven all the available material into a plot full of stirring incident and effective situations, extending in time from Edward's accession to his death. Shakespeare, as we have seen, has isolated a single momentous event from the story of Richard's reign, and treated it with a severity and repose quite foreign to Marlowe. Edward's infatuation for his favourites is made, with extra-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Hales suggests that these scenes may even contain portions of the old play.



ordinary effect, the ground of his ruin; those of Richard appear for a moment like shadows in his train, but have no sensible influence upon his destiny. The grim horror of Edward's end is brought before us with appalling and remorseless power; but Shakespeare seems to avoid the obvious and facile pathos of physical suffering. He gives us the prolonged agony of the deposition, and the brief emotion of the parting with his queen, but he adds a touch of heroic dignity to his death. Edward's queen is an active, though secret, agent in his ruin; Richard's (a child in reality) is used by Shakespeare in a quite un-Marlowesque way to bring home to us by her devotion his personal charm. How fine, yet how different, are the strokes of pathos which these two relationships are made to evoke!—Richard's queen waiting in the street for the fallen king to pass on his way to the Tower—

“ But soft, but see, or rather do not see  
My fair rose wither ” :

Edward, from his reeking dungeon, covered with filth, unnerved by hunger and sleeplessness, sending that last message to his queen—

“ Tell Isabel the queen I looked not thus,  
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,  
And there unhors'd the Duke of Cleremont ”.

In a word, while Marlowe seeks intrinsically powerful situations and brings out their power by bold and energetic rather than subtle strokes, Shakespeare chooses incidents the tragic quality of which has to be elicited and disclosed by delicate character-painting. Into this he has thrown all his genius; in this lies the worth and distinction of a drama which in wealth of interest and in harrowing power by no means equals Marlowe's dramatic masterpiece.

*Richard II.* was, then, not the work of a disciple of Marlowe; it bears the marks of decisive reaction from his influence. That it is not free from occasional reminiscences will appear in the Notes.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult, then, to resist the conclusion that it was written later than *Richard III.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially notes to act iv.

§ 7. To sum up this somewhat complicated discussion, the evidence of *metre* points to a date between *Richard III.* and *Henry IV.*; that of *style* is at least compatible with this position; that of *construction* hardly admits of any other. Now *Richard III.* is with practical certainty assigned to the years 1590-3; *Henry IV.* to 1596-7. This leaves us with 1593-5 as a period within which *Richard II.* almost certainly falls. The palpably greater maturity of *Henry IV.* points to the earlier rather than the later part of this period as its actual date. The tolerably firm ground thus obtained enables us now to suggest a reason for the anomalies of metre and style already spoken of: viz. that in abandoning Marlowe's methods in construction, Shakespeare adopted also with some energy the rhymed verse which Marlowe had eschewed, but in which his own triumphs had been won.

Two other plays, connected with ours by various slight links, must belong to nearly the same date,—*Romeo and Juliet*, and *King John*. The latter, sharing with *Richard II.* the absence of prose, is, judged by metre, a little earlier; judged by construction, and especially by the infusion of *comedy*, rather nearer to *Henry IV.*, the Comedy-History *par excellence*.

### III. THE SOURCE OF THE INCIDENTS.

§ 8. Shakespeare drew the materials for this, as for the other English Histories, in the main from the *Chronicle* of Holinshed, and apparently, as the Clarendon Press Editors point out, from the second edition (1586), which alone contains a detail used in ii. 4. 8 (see note). A slight detail here and there is perhaps due to Holinshed's predecessor, Hall. The picture of Mowbray's career in Palestine (iv. i. 97) may be an expansion of a hint in Stowe's *Annals* (1580). The commitment of Carlisle to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster was derived from some unknown source. There is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare knew more of the history of

Richard than he found in these books. We have, therefore, in studying the origin of the play, to take note solely of his way of handling the story as they tell it. If their story diverges from history, and he follows them, the fact may be important for the historical student, but has only a secondary interest for the student of Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated (§ 6), none of the Histories diverges so slightly from Holinshed as *Richard II.* The process of converting shadows into living and breathing men has involved very little change of outline. The actual divergences fall under three heads: alterations of *time* and *place*,—alterations affecting *character*,—*new* characters and new incidents.

§ 9. The first class of divergences are inevitable in any dramatic treatment of history. What we think of as a single 'historical event' is commonly made up of a crowd of minor incidents happening in different places and on different days. The dramatist concentrates them into a single continuous act.<sup>2</sup> We have several instances of this in *Richard II.* The following are the most important. The rest are pointed out in the Notes.

(a) i. 3. Bolingbroke's leave-taking and the partial remission of his sentence immediately follow the sentence itself. Holinshed makes him take leave of the king later, at Eltham, and there receive the remission of four years.

(b) ii. 2. The death of the Duchess of Gloucester is anticipated, in order apparently to add to the helpless embarrassment of York (cf. ii. 2. 98 f.).

(c) iii. 2. The surrender of Flint Castle to Northumberland is *retarded*; see note.

(d) iv. 1. The events of three separate meetings of Parlia-

<sup>1</sup> The most important divergences from history are, however, pointed out in the Notes to Dramatis Personæ. The fullest treatment of them is in Riechelmann's *Abhandlung zu Richard II. Shakspeare und Holinshed*, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare's liberties with time (elsewhere far greater) have the highest critical approval. Cf. Goethe's proverbial saying, "*Den Poeten bindet keine Zeit*" (the poet is not fettered by time), *Faust*, part ii. act 2; and elsewhere, still more strongly: "all that survives of true poetry lives and breathes only in anachronisms".

ment are combined in one great sitting, and also taken in a different order.

(e) v. 2. Richard's and Bolingbroke's entry into London is made part of the same pageant. In Holinshed it occurs on successive days.

(f) We may include under this head certain trifling alterations of *age*. Thus Prince Henry (v. 3) is clearly meant to be beyond his actual age (12).

To give a clearer idea of Shakespeare's procedure we give here the passage of Holinshed referred to in (d), which the student should carefully compare with act iv. We quote from the extracts made by the Clarendon Press Editors:—

“ ‘There was also conteyned in the sayde Bill, that Bagot had heard the Duke of Aumarle say, that he had leauer than twentie thousand pounds that the Duke of Hereforde were dead, not for any feare hee had of him, but for the trouble and myschiefe that hee was like to procure within the realme.

“ ‘After that the Byll had beene read and heard, the Duke of Aumarle rose vp and sayde, that as touching the poynts conteyned in the bill concerning him, they were vtterly false and vntrue, which he would proue with his body, in what maner soeuer it should be thought requisit...

“ ‘This was on a Thursday being the .xv. of October.

“ ‘On the Saterdag next ensuing,...the Lord FitzWater herewith rose vp, and sayd to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himself of the duke of Gloucesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the very cause of his death, and so hee appealed him of treason, offring by throwing downe his hoode as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were .xx. other Lordes also that threw downe their hoodes, as pledges to proue y<sup>e</sup> like matter against the duke of Aumarle.

“ ‘The Duke of Aumarle threwe downe hys hoode to trie it agaynst the Lorde FitzWater, as agaynst him that lyed falsly, in that hee charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the Conestable and Marshal of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

“The Duke of Surrey stood vp also agaynst the L. Fitzwater, auouching that where he had sayd that the appellants were cause of y<sup>e</sup> duke of Gloucesters death, it was false, for they were constreyned to sue the same appeale, in like maner as the sayd Lorde FitzWater was compelled to gyue iudgement against the duke of Glocester, and the Earle of Arundell, so that the suing of the appeale was done by cohercion, and if he sayd contrary he lied: and therewith he threw down his hood.

“The Lorde FitzWater answered herevnto, that he was not present in the Parliament house when iudgement was giuen against them, and al the Lordes bear witnesse thereof.

“Morouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants vnto Calais, to murder the duke of Gloucester, y<sup>e</sup> sayd duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norffolk affyrme it, he lyed falsly, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hoode which he had borrowed.

“The same was likewise deliuered to the Conestable and Marshall of England, and the king licenced the Duke of Norffolke to returne, that hee might arraigne his appeale.’

“The speech of the Bishop of Carlisle was delivered on the Wednesday next after these events, and under the circumstances mentioned in the note on iv. 1. 114. The following is Holinshed’s version of it: ‘Wherevpon the Bishop of Carleil, a man both learned, wise, & stoute of stomake, boldly shewed forth his opinion concerning that demaunde, affirming that there was none amongst them worthie or meete to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their soueraigne and liege Lorde, by the space of .xxij. yeares and more, and I assure you (sayd he) there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so errant a theef, nor yet so cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteyned in prison for his offence, but hee shall be brought before the Iustice to heare his iudgement, and ye will proceede to the iudgement of an annoynted K. hearing neither his answeare nor excuse:

and I say, that the duke of Lancaster whom ye cal king, hath more trespassed to king Ric. and his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or to vs: for it is manifest and well knowne, that the Duke was banished the realme by king Richard and his counsayle, and by the iudgement of hys owne father, for the space of tenne yeres, for what cause ye know, and yet without licence of King Richard, he is returned againe into the Realme, and that is worse, hath taken vpon him, the name, tytle, and preheminance of a King. And therefore I say, that yee haue done manifest wrong, to proceede in anye thing agaynst king Richarde, without calling him openly to his aunswere and defence.

“As soone as the Bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the Earle Marshal, & committed to warde in the Abbey of S. Albons.”

Shakespeare is, in his Histories, far more chary of alterations affecting character. He is on the whole true to the principle laid down by Lessing in a classical passage<sup>1</sup>: “How far may the poet depart from historic truth? In all that does not concern the characters, as far as he pleases. The characters alone are sacred in his eyes: to enforce them, to put them in the most telling light, is all that he is permitted to do. The smallest essential alteration would remove the reason for which he gives them the names they bear.” Shakespeare has certainly in several cases filled in the outlines of tradition with singular daring and freedom (as in the case of Richard); but there seem to be only three cases in which he has deliberately departed from it.

(a) The *Queen*. As a child of nine years, the queen could scarcely be considered as a historic character. In making her a woman (though with the naive ardour of girlhood still about her) Shakespeare was rather creating a new character than modifying an old. The purpose of the change has been already hinted.

<sup>1</sup> Lessing: *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, No. xxiii.

*b) Mowbray.* The character of Mowbray is somewhat obscure in Holinshed, and Shakespeare has not made it wholly clear. Yet he handles him on the whole more favourably than the chronicler. His reply to Bolingbroke's charge of treason in Holinshed contains two weak points: he excuses the detention of state money with a bad reason, viz. that the king was in his debt; and he ignores altogether the accusation of Gloucester's murder. Shakespeare makes him plead that he had the king's warrant for the former act, and hint vaguely that he had it for the second. And Shakespeare throws over him a glamour of chivalry and patriotism which wins the reader's heart for him,—as in his bitter lament over his banishment, and the recital of his prowess in Palestine. Moreover, we are not allowed to see, what Shakespeare himself tells us in *Henry IV.*, that Mowbray was as bitterly hated in the country as Bolingbroke was loved, and not without deserving it. It is only there we learn (*2 Henry IV.* iv. 1. 134 f.) that had not Mowbray been banished he would never have left the lists of Coventry alive. Westmoreland addresses Mowbray's son:—

“ But if your father had been victor there,  
 He ne'er had borne it out of Coventry:  
 For all the country in a general voice  
 Cried hate upon him; and all their prayers and love  
 Were set on Hereford, whom they doted on  
 And bless'd and graced indeed, more than the king.”

The effect, and probably the intention, of this more favourable colouring of Mowbray, is to make his banishment seem still more wanton and arbitrary.

*(c) Gaunt.* With scarcely any deviation from definite historical fact (except in the *addition* noticed below), the whole complexion of Gaunt's character is nevertheless changed. A self-seeking, turbulent, and far from patriotic politician is exalted into an embodiment of the love of country in its noblest form;—into the voice through which England speaks. The old play seen by Forman (§ 2 above) was in this respect



truer to history. Shakespeare took a more defensible course in *King John*, where English patriotism is embodied with less real violence to history, in the subordinate figure of Faulconbridge.

The *gardener* and his *servant* (iii. 4) and the *groom* (v. 5) are new characters. The first two show us (3) New Characters. how the people regard the crisis; and tend to justify Bolingbroke's intervention. The groom adds to our sense of Richard's personal charm and to the pathos of his lonely fate.

The most important new incidents are the great death-scene of Gaunt (ii. 1), and the still greater deposition-scene of Richard (iv. 1). Both are superb examples of Incidents. imaginative creation within the lines of historical tradition; for though neither happened, both realize and embody the very spirit of that which did. They give us the soul of the story, that inner truth which the facts left unexpressed.

While Shakespeare has thus altered comparatively little in his record, he has omitted points in it which to the modern student of history seem highly important. Omissions. Such a student wonders to find no reference to the process by which Richard had acquired the despotic power which he is found exercising from the first: to the packed parliament of Shrewsbury (1398), to the nomination by it of the Council of his own partisans which thenceforth virtually assumed the functions of parliament. He wonders, too, to find Gloucester's murder used as one of the chief motives of the action without a hint of the causes which provoked it. But Shakespeare thought little of parliamentary functions; and it is not surprising that the dramatist who gives us the struggle of King John and his Barons without a word of Magna Charta, should have ignored the sham formalities which gave a show of legality to the despotism of Richard. Nor does he in the *Histories* care to account for events which lie before the opening of the drama, any more than to account



for the character which his persons exhibit. We accept Richard as we accept Lear or Hamlet, as *being* what they prove to be, without learning how they have come to be it. The obscurity of the murder of Gloucester is part of the general obscurity in which Shakespeare is content to leave Richard's early career;—or, to be more accurate, it is one of the mass of antecedent facts which he could take for granted before an audience familiar with the older play.

#### IV. CRITICAL APPRECIATION.

§ 10. In the last section we have attended merely to the points in which Shakespeare as a dramatic artist actually diverges from his source. We have now to study the art quality of the play as a whole. We have to watch the artist at work, to note where his imagination is busy and where it rests, which parts it loads with poetic gold, and which it leaves bare; and thus to arrive at his interpretation of the story he tells, and his intentions in telling it. Only so can we pretend to judge his work.

It is plain that the imaginative work is, to an unusual degree in Shakespeare, unequal. We have a number of figures which did not greatly interest him, and on which he has bestowed little pains. The royal favourites, Bushy, Green, and Bagot; the group of lords, Surrey, Fitzwater, Northumberland, Percy, Ross, Willoughby, Salisbury, Berkeley; the Abbot and Marshal; Scroop and Exton; and the Duchesses of York and Gloucester, are either mere shadows or are defined only with a single dominant trait. Aumerle, Mowbray, and Carlisle stand on a higher plane of interest; but play only secondary or futile parts. York and Gaunt are drawn with far greater refinement and wealth of detail; but also rather enter into, than *compose*, the action. Two figures stand out from all the rest both by their supreme importance in the story, and by the extraordinary care with which they are wrought. In these two we shall probably find the best clue to the comprehension of the whole.

§ 11. The character of Richard is only gradually disclosed. No opening monologue announces his policy, like that in which Richard the Third sets before us his appalling programme of evil deeds. Little by little the materials for judging him are brought into view; and this reserve is the more remarkable, since no previous drama of Shakespeare's had led up to this, as *Henry VI.* led up to *Richard III.*, or as *Richard II.* itself was to lead up to *Henry IV.* Shakespeare will not allow us to prejudge Richard. We see him at the outset in the situation where he shows to most advantage—on the throne, wearing with grace and ease the ceremonial dignity of kingship. His authoritativeness is not yet petulant, his eloquence not yet fantastic or trivial. Presently we get a hint of rifts in this melodious lute, but the hint is so unobtrusive as to be easily ignored. First, the vague suggestion of his complicity in Gloucester's murder (directly asserted only in i. 2); then, his helplessness before the strong wills of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, which is rather illustrated than disguised by the skilful phrase with which he covers his retreat: "We were not born to sue, but to command", &c. (i. i. 196 f.). The third scene shows him at once arbitrarily harsh and weakly relenting. In the fourth we get the first glimpse of his reckless misgovernment of the country, and his wanton plundering of the rich is set significantly beside Bolingbroke's astute courtesy to the poor; both causes were to contribute to his ruin. Yet, as we have seen, Shakespeare refrains from picturing Richard even here, among his favourites, in the grossly undignified guise which he wears in the scornful recollection of Henry IV. On the contrary, as we obtain insight into his crimes and follies, we are made also to feel his beauty and his charm; and the crowning exposure in the second act, where we hear of England bartered "like to a tenement or pelting farm", "the commons pill'd with grievous taxes, the nobles fined for ancient quarrels", and where all this is made credible by the shameless confiscation of Bolingbroke's inheritance

before our eyes—this terrible exposure is with fine tact immediately followed by the pathetic picture of the queen's wistful forebodings for her 'sweet Richard'; while York's indignant comparison between him and his father, the Black Prince, is pointed by the admission that outwardly he resembled that paragon of English chivalry—"His face thou hast, for even so look'd he". The impression is enforced with strokes of brilliant imagery throughout the play: "the fiery discontented sun", "yet looks he like a king", "his eye as bright as is the eagle's", "like glistening Phaeton", "my fair rose wither'd". It is notable too that the popular indignation is only brought into prominence at a later stage, when it serves to quicken pity rather than resentment. In the second act it is a hearsay; in the third, after his capture, it finds expression in the grave dialogue of the gardener and his servant; in the fifth (v. 2) it becomes virulent and ferocious, but the 'dust thrown upon his sacred head' by the London mob tempts us to forget in the spectacle of his 'gentle sorrow' what exceedingly good reason London had for throwing it. His return from Ireland (iii. 2) discloses a new aspect of his character, which belongs essentially to Shakespeare's imaginative reading of him. Adversity, to use a favourite Elizabethan image, brings out the perfume of his nature; only, be it well noted, it is a perfume of brain and fancy, not of heart and conscience. He is humiliated, dethroned, imprisoned; and every trifling incident serves now as a nucleus about which he wreathes the beautiful tangles of his arabesque wit; but he shows no touch of true remorse. He recognizes his follies, but only in order to turn them into agreeable imagery. His own fate preoccupies him, yet chiefly on its picturesque side; he is dazzled by the spectacle of his own tragedy. He sees himself as 'glistening Phaeton' fallen—nay, as Christ, whom "you Pilates have here delivered ... to my sour cross". With great skill, this trait is made to work into and further the plot. By throwing himself into the rôle of the 'fallen king', he precipitates his fall.

Yet his fall itself, tame and unkingly though it be, acquires distinction and dignity from the poetic glainour which he sheds about it. His eloquence grows more dazzling as his situation grows more hopeless. Mr. Pater (in the essay already quoted) has specially emphasized this aspect of Richard—"an exquisite poet if he is nothing else,<sup>1</sup>...with a felicity of poetic invention which puts these pages (the deposition scene) into a very select class, with the finest 'vermeil and ivory' work of Chatterton or Keats".<sup>2</sup> Yet if an exquisite, he is not a great, poet. Even his finest touches, such as, "A brittle glory shineth in that face, | As brittle as the glory is the face", are not laden with that lightning of imagination which penetrates to the heart of things, like the outbursts of Lear or Hamlet; they are beautiful fancies beautifully phrased. The name *dilettante*, felicitously suggested by Kreyssig<sup>3</sup> and adopted by Dowden,<sup>4</sup> best fits his literary as his kingly character. He is a dilettante in poetry as well as in kingship. "Let no one say", adds Kreyssig, "that a gifted artist-nature goes to ruin in Richard: the same unbridled fancy, the same boundless but superficial sensibility which wrecks the king would also have ruined the poet."

§ 12. In bold yet subtle contrast to Richard is his rival Bolingbroke. He, like Richard, is only gradually disclosed to us; a series of fine touches lets us see by degrees the man he is, and, without exactly foreshadowing the sequel, makes it intelligible when it comes. From the first he imposes by a quiet power, which pursues its ends under constitutional forms, knows how to bide its time, uses violence only to avenge wrong, and carries out a great revolution with the air of accepting a position left vacant. Nor are we allowed to think of him as a mere usurper. The time calls for a strong king. The country, exasperated by Richard's mad and lawless rule, is ready to override the claims of legitimacy if it can get merit. If

<sup>1</sup> Pater: *Appreciations*, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Kreyssig, *Vorlesungen über Sh.*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakspeare*, p. 195.

Bolingbroke uses the needs of the time for his own purpose, he is the man to fulfil them. If he is ambitious to rule, there is in him the stuff of a great ruler. The state of England is 'out of joint'; he is the man to 'set it right'. No *crime-interest* is allowed to arise in regard to him such as from the first fascinates us in the career of Richard III. His only act of violence is to sentence, with the sternness of the judge rather than of the conqueror, the favourites of Richard to the death they deserved. His first act as king is to inquire into the murder of Gloucester. The play closes upon his remorse for the murder he had wished, but not designed. He loves England too, as Gaunt, as Richard, as Mowbray, love it, each in his way. If he does not waste precious time after landing, like Richard, in an eloquent address to his 'dear earth', his brief farewell, as he goes into banishment, to the "sweet soil, my mother and my nurse", is full of restrained passion and pathos. Thus Bolingbroke blends the characters of the ambitious adventurer and the national deliverer—the man of the hour. But, though never lacking the dignity of kingship, he wants the personal charm of Richard. Richard is hated by the people he misrules, but captivates his intimates—from the queen and Aumerle down to the unnamed and unseen singer, who unbidden makes music for his disport in prison; nay, even Bolingbroke "loves him, dead". Bolingbroke himself, on the contrary, owes his popularity partly to his warlike prestige, partly to a deliberate combination of habitual reserve with occasional condescension.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the striking passage in *Henry IV.* iii. 2. 39 f., where he schools the prince in the proper bearing of a king—

"By being seldom seen, I could not stir  
 But like a comet I was wonder'd at:  
 That men would tell their children, 'This is he';  
 Others would say, 'Where? which is Bolingbroke?'  
 And then I stole all courtesy from Heaven,  
 And dress'd myself in such humility  
 That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts,  
 Loud shouts and salutations from their mouths,  
 Even in the presence of a crowned king".

The whole of this speech should be familiar to the student of *Richard II.*

§ 13. In the contrast of Richard and Bolingbroke lies, as has been said, the key-note of the play. Now that contrast seems to be worked out from two points of view, which belong to different phases of Shakespeare's thought. On the one hand, it represents the struggle between two opposite political principles—kingship by inheritance and kingship by faculty—which has several times involved the destinies of England. It reflects Shakespeare's political thinking, his passion for his country, his loving study of her past. On the other hand, it represents a conflict between two antagonistic types of soul, the rude collision of fantastic inefficiency with practical power—the tragedy of a royal dilettante confronted with a King. It reflects Shakespeare's growing absorption in the profound study of human character and in the vaster issues of life which lie outside the domain of politics and country. In a word, though *Richard II.* is still called a 'History', it is history shaping itself towards tragedy, without having yet lost the relation to political issues and to historical tradition which marks Shakespeare's English histories as a whole. Let us look at the play more closely from these two points of view.

§ 14. Regarded as a 'History', *Richard II.* is the first act in that greater drama closing with *Richard III.*, of which it (1) The 'History' of Richard II. has been aptly said that the 'hero' is not any English king, but England. In so far, it is a product of that prolonged outburst of national enthusiasm which, fed from many sources, was stimulated to the highest pitch by the ruin of the Armada, and among other literary fruit, produced, besides Shakespeare's great series, Marlowe's *Edward II.* (about 1590), Peele's *Edward I.* (1593), and the anonymous pseudo-Shakespearian *Edward III.* (probably 1596). The history aspect of the play is most prominent in the earlier acts. We are shown the passionate devotion of all the main actors in the story to their country, just raised to European renown by the outwardly glorious reign of Edward III. The magnificent ceremonial of chivalry, which Edward

encouraged, is paraded in unshorn state before us; the visible sign of the great yesterday of conquest, still apparently commemorated in the grand figure of the Shakespearian John of Gaunt. The peculiar sting of Richard's exactions, to the mind of his angry nobles, is that they have been squandered in peaceful luxury—

"Wars have not wasted it, for warr'd he hath not,  
But basely yielded upon compromise  
That which his noble ancestors achieved with blows".

Of this indignant patriotism, in its loftiest form, Gaunt is made the mouthpiece (without a hint from the *Chronicle*). He thus may be said to stand, in our play, as Faulconbridge does in *King John*, as the younger Henry in some sort does in *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*, for England herself. The closing lines of *King John* breathe a spirit identical with that of Gaunt's prophecy, and have become hardly less famous. Gaunt represents that loyalty, which, with all devotion to the king as the 'deputy of God', yet puts the country before the king. He will not lift his arm against him, but he will speak the daggers he may not use. How subtly is the relation between father and son drawn! In both we discern, though in different proportions, loyalty to law and vision for facts. The father votes his son's banishment; the son obeys. The father, wrung by the misery of England, utters the protest which the son effects. But with Gaunt ideal loyalty preponderates; in Bolingbroke, practical sagacity. Gaunt has more imagination, Bolingbroke more shrewdness. Note how finely this trait is suggested in their parting dialogue (i. 3), where the father's store of imaginative resources in suffering—

"Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it  
To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou comest", &c.

is met with the reply of sorrowful common sense:

"O, who can hold a fire in his hand  
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?" &c.

York and Aumerle belong also essentially to the political



drama, and their relation, though far less subtly drawn, likewise repays study. They are types of that York and Aumerle. grosser kind of loyalty which is little more than a refined form of cowardice. York, whose submissiveness to Richard is tempered only by one senile protest, surrenders, after a little bluster, to Bolingbroke, and is soon his abject tool; Aumerle, though he remains longer true, saves his life by lying (iv. 1), and by betraying his friends (v. 2).

Lastly, it may be asked, how did Shakespeare view the political problem of the History,—that struggle between *legitimacy* and *aptitude* which the nation so rapidly settled in favour of the latter? That he felt the element of violence in Bolingbroke's procedure is plain from the confession he afterwards attributes to Henry IV. ("How I came by the crown, O God, forgive!" 2 *Henry IV.* iv. 5. 219) and to Henry V. ("Not to-day, O Lord, O not to-day, think not upon the fault My father made in compassing the crown!" *Henry V.* iv. 1. 277); but he probably felt no less keenly that the situation admitted of no other solution. He neither excused the act nor ignored its consequences. The usurpation was necessary for England, but it was not the less necessary that England should suffer for it.<sup>1</sup>

§ 15. Secondly, under the aspect of *tragedy*. In Shakespearean tragedy two types of tragic effect appear to be fused:

- (1) Nemesis following Guilt or Error; (2)  
(2) Tragedy of Character at discord with Circumstance.  
Richard II.

The first is the classical conception of tragedy. It is the note of Shakespeare, that he habitually grounds both guilt and error on character. He rarely indeed, as in *Macbeth*, builds tragedy upon crime; commonly, as in *Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, the crime and its punishment affect only the secondary actors, and the real tragedy belongs to those who err only through some fatal discord between their character and the circumstances in which they are set, but are none the less ruined by their error. There is here no question of *Nemesis*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kreyssig, *u. s.* p. 200.

of proportion between suffering and fault; Othello is not, in any intelligible sense, *punished* for his credulity, nor Lear for his blindness, nor Hamlet for his thought-sickness.

Now in *Richard II.* the germs of both these types of tragedy are distinctly traceable, but apart. We have the framework of a tragedy of *Guilt* and *Nemesis* in the dark tale of Gloucester's murder, the starting-point of the whole action, which Bolingbroke makes it his mission to avenge. On the other hand, and far more prominently, we have a tragedy of *Character* and *Circumstance*. As handled by Shakespeare, the story of Richard exemplifies a kind of tragic subject which towards the middle of his career obviously interested him,—the discord between the life of thought and feeling pursued for themselves, and the life of practical interests between the poet or the thinker, the philosopher, the lover, and the world in which he assumes, or has thrust upon him, a part he is not fitted to play. Brutus and Hamlet are forced to play parts for which the one is unfitted by his abstract academic creed, the other by his ingrained habits of thought. The love of Romeo and Juliet is fatal to them, because it has to be evolved in a society consumed by mean and purposeless hate. An unmistakable trait of kinship connects these tragic figures with Shakespeare's Richard. He is a creature of thought and emotion, though his thought is not reflective like Hamlet's, but fanciful, his emotion not passionate like Romeo's, but sentimental. He follows momentary impulse, like a brilliant wayward dreamer, taking no account of the laws and limits of the real world, and turning each rude collision with them merely into the starting-point of a new dream. And these laws and limits are for him personified in Bolingbroke, the representative of the people he misruled; the embodiment of that genius for action which enables a man to get the iron will of facts on his side, to make the silent forces of law and custom, of national needs and claims, work for him by making himself their symbol. We shall not overstate the degree of resemblance between Richard and the tragic figures we have

compared with his, if we say that Shakespeare has imagined his character in a way that seems natural and obvious for the poet who within a year or two (earlier or later) created *Romeo and Juliet*, and who was, some six or eight years later, to create *Brutus* and *Hamlet*.

§ 16. *Richard the Second* is not one of the greatest of Shakespeare's plays. But it is one of the most instructive. It does not enlarge our conception of his powers,—of some of them (*e.g.* his humour) it hardly contains a trace. But it gives us valuable insight into their development, at one of

Conclusion. those moments between youth and maturity when the work of any great and progressive artist is apt to be loaded with subtle suggestions of both. This period was apparently not, with Shakespeare, one of those epochs of Titanic storm and stress, in which all the latent potencies of a man's nature are brought confusedly to the surface. It was rather a time of relative clearness and calmness, of measure and reserve, of balance and serenity, intervening between the buoyant extravagances and daring experiments of the young man, and the colossal adventures of the mature Shakespeare 'into strange seas of thought alone'. For a piece of Shakespearian work *Richard II.* seems at first strikingly simple and bare. It has an imposing unity and singleness of plot. It suggests a careful pruning of excrescences rather than that reaching out after various kinds of effect which produces many-sided affinities. Yet, as we have seen, this apparent simpleness and singleness is found, on closer view, compatible with a blending of distinct artistic aims. We watch the procedure of a great tragic poet, emancipating himself from the methods of the national history, and conceiving his work, both on the historical and on the tragical side, under the influence of a reaction from the methods of Marlowe. Of all the political tragedies it is the least Marlowesque. The reaction was in part temporary, in part final and progressive. The infusion of lyrical sweetness and lyrical rhyme is rapidly abandoned for a blank

verse more nervous and masculine than Marlowe's own. The interest of character on which the play is so largely built remains a cardinal point of Shakespeare's art; but interest of *plot* emerges from the complete subordination which marks it here. And the tragedy which arises rather out of character than out of crime becomes the absorbing theme of Shakespeare's maturity. In Richard we have one of the earliest notes of that profound Shakespearian *pity* which has little relation to the personal compassion excited by the sufferings of Marlowe's Edward; pity which penetrates beyond the doom of an individual to the social *milieu* by which the doom was provoked; and reflects a sad recognition of what Mr. Pater has called "the unkindness of things themselves",—the tragedy of the world itself. Such pity, like every emotion that lifts beyond personal misfortune, has its 'purifying' power upon meaner forms of pity, and by drawing us into conscious contact with the universal issues of life, exalts while it saddens. It is the test of great tragedies not to fail of this exalting power upon the spectator, however harrowing the sufferings which evolve it; so that, in the noble words of one of the great moral teachers of our time,—“though a man's sojourn in this region be short, yet when he falls again the smell of the divine fire has passed upon him, and he bears about him, for a time at least, among the rank vapours of the earth something of the freshness and fragrance of the higher air.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>T. H. Green: *An Estimate of the Value and Influence of Works of Fiction in Modern Times*, p. 9. I borrow this quotation from Mr. H. C. Beeching's admirable edition of *Julius Cæsar* (p. vii), the more willingly, since Mr. Beeching's view of Shakespearian tragedy is not precisely my own.

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

1. KING RICHARD the Second.
2. JOHN OF GAUNT, Duke of Lancaster,    }
3. EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Duke of York,    } uncles to the King.
4. HENRY, surnamed BOLINGBROKE, Duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt; afterwards KING HENRY IV.
5. DUKE OF AUMERLE, son to the Duke of York.
6. THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk.
7. DUKE OF SURREY.
8. EARL OF SALISBURY.
9. LORD BERKELEY.
10. BUSHY,    }
11. GREEN,    } servants to King Richard.
12. BAGOT,    }
13. EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.
14. HENRY PERCY, surnamed Hotspur, his son.
15. LORD ROSS.
16. LORD WILLOUGHBY.
17. LORD FITZWATER.
18. Bishop of Carlisle.
19. Abbot of Westminster.
20. SIR STEPHEN SCROOP.
21. SIR PIERCE of Exton.  
     Lord Marshal.  
     Captain of a band of Welshmen.
22. QUEEN to King Richard.
23. DUCHESS OF YORK.
24. DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.  
     Lady attending on the Queen.

Lords, Herald, Officers, Soldiers, two Gardeners, Keeper, Messenger,  
 Groom, and other Attendants.

SCENE: *England and Wales.*

# THE TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD II.

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## ACT I.

SCENE I. *London.* KING RICHARD'S *palace.*

*Enter* KING RICHARD, JOHN OF GAUNT, *with other Nobles and Attendants.*

*K. Rich.* Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster,  
Hast thou, according to thy oath and band,  
Brought hither Henry Hereford thy bold son,  
Here to make good the boisterous late appeal,  
Which then our leisure would not let us hear,  
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

*Gaunt.* I have, my liege.

*K. Rich.* Tell me, moreover, hast thou sounded him,  
If he appeal the duke on ancient malice;  
Or worthily, as a good subject should, 10  
On some known ground of treachery in him?

*Gaunt.* As near as I could sift him on that argument,  
On some apparent danger seen in him  
Aim'd at your highness, no inveterate malice.

*K. Rich.* Then call them to our presence; face to face,  
And frowning brow to brow, ourselves will hear  
The accuser and the accused freely speak:  
High-stomach'd are they both, and full of ire,  
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.

*Enter* BOLINGBROKE and MOWBRAY.

*Boling.* Many years of happy days befall 20  
My gracious sovereign, my most loving liege!

*Mow.* Each day still better other's happiness;  
Until the heavens, envying earth's good hap,  
Add an immortal title to your crown!

*K. Rich.* We thank you both: yet one but flatters us,  
As well appeareth by the cause you come;

Namely, to appeal each other of high treason.  
 Cousin of Hereford, what dost thou object  
 Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

*Boling.* First, heaven be the record to my speech! 30  
 In the devotion of a subject's love,  
 Tendering the precious safety of my prince,  
 And free from other misbegotten hate,  
 Come I appellant to this princely presence.  
 Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee,  
 And mark my greeting well; for what I speak  
 My body shall make good upon this earth,  
 Or my divine soul answer it in heaven.

Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,  
 Too good to be so and too bad to live, 40  
 Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,  
 The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.  
 Once more, the more to aggravate the note,  
 With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat;  
 And wish, so please my sovereign, ere I move,  
 What my tongue speaks my right drawn sword may prove.

*Mow.* Let not my cold words here accuse my zeal:  
 'Tis not the trial of a woman's war,  
 The bitter clamour of two eager tongues,  
 Can arbitrate this cause betwixt us twain; 50  
 The blood is hot that must be cool'd for this:  
 Yet can I not of such tame patience boast  
 As to be hush'd and nought at all to say:  
 First, the fair reverence of your highness curbs me  
 From giving reins and spurs to my free speech;  
 Which else would post until it had return'd  
 These terms of treason doubled down his throat.  
 Setting aside his high blood's royalty,  
 And let him be no kinsman to my liege,  
 I do defy him, and I spit at him: 60  
 Call him a slanderous coward and a villain.  
 Which to maintain I would allow him odds,  
 And meet him, were I tied to run afoot  
 Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,  
 Or any other ground inhabitable,  
 Where ever Englishman durst set his foot.  
 Mean time let this defend my loyalty,  
 By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.

*Boling.* Pale trembling coward, there I throw my gage,  
 Disclaiming here the kindred of the king, 70  
 And lay aside my high blood's royalty,



Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to except.  
If guilty dread have left thee so much strength  
As to take up mine honour's pawn, then stoop:  
By that and all the rites of knighthood else,  
Will I make good against thee, arm to arm,  
What I have spoke, or thou canst worst devise.

*Mow.* I take it up; and by that sword I swear,  
Which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,  
I'll answer thee in any fair degree, 80  
Or chivalrous design of knightly trial:  
And when I mount, alive may I not light,  
If I be traitor or unjustly fight!

*K. Rich.* What doth our cousin lay to Mowbray's charge?  
It must be great that can inherit us  
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

*Boling.* Look, what I speak, my life shall prove it true;  
That Mowbray hath received eight thousand nobles  
In name of lendings for your highness' soldiers,  
The which he hath detain'd for lewd employments, 90  
Like a false traitor and injurious villain.  
Besides I say and will in battle prove,  
Or here or elsewhere to the furthest verge  
That ever was survey'd by English eye,  
That all the treasons for these eighteen years  
Complotted and contrived in this land  
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.  
Further I say and further will maintain  
Upon his bad life to make all this good,  
That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death, 100  
Suggest his soon-believing adversaries,  
And consequently, like a traitor coward,  
Sluiced out his innocent soul through streams of blood:  
Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries,  
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,  
To me for justice and rough chastisement;  
And, by the glorious worth of my descent,  
This arm shall do it, or this life be spent.

*K. Rich.* How high a pitch his resolution soars!  
Thomas of Norfolk, what say'st thou to this? 110

*Mow.* O, let my sovereign turn away his face  
And bid his ears a little while be deaf,  
Till I have told this slander of his blood,  
How God and good men hate so foul a liar.

*K. Rich.* Mowbray, impartial are our eyes and ears:  
Were he my brother, nay, my kingdom's heir,

As he is but my father's brother's son,  
 Now, by my sceptre's awe, I make a vow,  
 Such neighbour nearness to our sacred blood  
 Should nothing privilege him, nor partialize 120  
 The unstooping firmness of my upright soul:  
 He is our subject, Mowbray; so art thou:  
 Free speech and fearless I to thee allow.

*Mow.* Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy heart,  
 Through the false passage of thy throat, thou liest.  
 Three parts of that receipt I had for Calais  
 Disbursed I duly to his highness' soldiers;  
 The other part reserved I by consent,  
 For that my sovereign liege was in my debt  
 Upon remainder of a dear account, 130  
 Since last I went to France to fetch his queen:  
 Now swallow down that lie. For Gloucester's death,  
 I slew him not; but to my own disgrace  
 Neglected my sworn duty in that case.  
 For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster,  
 The honourable father to my foe,  
 Once did I lay an ambush for your life,  
 A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul;  
 But ere I last received the sacrament  
 I did confess it, and exactly begg'd 140  
 Your grace's pardon, and I hope I had it.  
 This is my fault: as for the rest appeal'd,  
 It issues from the rancour of a villain,  
 A recreant and most degenerate traitor:  
 Which in myself I boldly will defend;  
 And interchangeably hurl down my gage  
 Upon this overweening traitor's foot,  
 To prove myself a loyal gentleman  
 Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom.  
 In haste whereof, most heartily I pray 150  
 Your highness to assign our trial day.

*K. Rich.* Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be ruled by me;  
 Let's purge this choler without letting blood:  
 This we prescribe, though no physician;  
 Deep malice makes too deep incision;  
 Forget, forgive; conclude and be agreed;  
 Our doctors say this is no month to bleed.  
 Good uncle, let this end where it begun;  
 We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your son.

*Gaunt.* To be a make-peace shall become my age: 160  
 Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.

*K. Rich.* And, Norfolk, throw down his.

*Gaunt.*

When, Harry, when?

Obedience bids I should not bid again.

*K. Rich.* Norfolk, throw down, we bid; there is no boot.

*Mow.* Myself I throw, dread sovereign, at thy foot.

My life thou shalt command, but not my shame:

The one my duty owes; but my fair name,

Despite of death that lives upon my grave,

To dark dishonour's use thou shalt not have.

I am disgraced, impeach'd and baffled here,

170

Pierced to the soul with slander's venom'd spear,

The which no balm can cure but his heart-blood

Which breathed this poison.

*K. Rich.*

Rage must be withstood:

Give me his gage: lions make leopards tame.

*Mow.* Yea, but not change his spots: take but my shame,

And I resign my gage. My dear dear lord,

The purest treasure mortal times afford

Is spotless reputation: that away,

Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.

A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest

180

Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.

Mine honour is my life; both grow in one;

Take honour from me, and my life is done:

Then, dear my liege, mine honour let me try;

In that I live and for that will I die.

*K. Rich.* Cousin, throw up your gage; do you begin.

*Boling.* O, God defend my soul from such deep sin!

Shall I seem crest-fall'n in my father's sight?

Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my height

Before this out-dared dastard? Ere my tongue

190

Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,

Or sound so base a parle, my teeth shall tear

The slavish motive of recanting fear,

And spit it bleeding in his high disgrace,

Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face.

[*Exit Gaunt.*

*K. Rich.* We were not born to sue, but to command;

Which since we cannot do to make you friends,

Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,

At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's day:

There shall your swords and lances arbitrate

200

The swelling difference of your settled hate:

Since we can not atone you, we shall see

Justice design the victor's chivalry.

Lord marshal, command our officers at arms  
Be ready to direct these home alarms.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *The DUKE OF LANCASTER'S palace.*

*Enter* JOHN OF GAUNT *with the* DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

*Gaunt.* Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood  
Doth more solicit me than your exclains,  
To stir against the butchers of his life!  
But since correction lieth in those hands  
Which made the fault that we cannot correct,  
Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven;  
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,  
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.

*Duch.* Finds brotherhood in thee no sharper spur?  
Hath love in thy old blood no living fire?

10

Edward's seven sons, whereof thyself art one,  
Were as seven vials of his sacred blood,

Or seven fair branches springing from one root:

Some of those seven are dried by nature's course,

Some of those branches by the Destinies cut;

But Thomas, my dear lord, my life, my Gloucester,

One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,

One flourishing branch of his most royal root,

Is crack'd, and all the precious liquor spilt,

Is hack'd down, and his summer leaves all faded,

20

By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe.

Ah, Gaunt, his blood was thine! that bed, that womb,

That metal, that self mould, that fashion'd thee

Made him a man; and though thou livest and breathest,

Yet art thou slain in him: thou dost consent

In some large measure to thy father's death,

In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,

Who was the model of thy father's life.

Call it not patience, Gaunt; it is despair:

In suffering thus thy brother to be slaughter'd,

30

Thou showest the naked pathway to thy life,

Teaching stern murder how to butcher thee:

That which in mean men we intitle patience

Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts.

What shall I say? to safeguard thine own life,

The best way is to venge my Gloucester's death.

*Gaunt.* God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,  
His deputy anointed in His sight,

Hath caused his death: the which if wrongfully,  
Let heaven revenge; for I may never lift  
An angry arm against His minister. 40

*Duch.* Where then, alas, may I complain myself?

*Gaunt.* To God, the widow's champion and defence.

*Duch.* Why, then, I will. Farewell, old Gaunt.

Thou goest to Coventry, there to behold  
Our cousin Hereford and fell Mowbray fight;  
O, sit my husband's wrongs on Hereford's spear,  
That it may enter butcher Mowbray's breast!  
Or, if misfortune miss the first career,  
Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom, 50  
That they may break his foaming courser's back,  
And throw the rider headlong in the lists,  
A caitiff recreant to my cousin Hereford!  
Farewell, old Gaunt: thy sometimes brother's wife  
With her companion grief must end her life.

*Gaunt.* Sister, farewell; I must to Coventry:  
As much good stay with thee as go with me!

*Duch.* Yet one word more: grief boundeth where it falls,  
Not with the empty hollowness, but weight:  
I take my leave before I have begun, 60  
For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done.  
Commend me to thy brother, Edmund York.  
Lo, this is all:—nay, yet depart not so;  
Though this be all, do not so quickly go;  
I shall remember more. Bid him—ah, what?—  
With all good speed at Plashy visit me.  
Alack, and what shall good old York there see  
But empty lodgings and unfurnish'd walls,  
Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?  
And what hear there for welcome but my groans? 70  
Therefore commend me; let him not come there,  
To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.  
Desolate, desolate, will I hence and die:  
The last leave of thee takes my weeping eye. [Exeunt.

### SCENE III. *The lists at Coventry.*

*Enter the Lord Marshal and the DUKE OF AUMERLE.*

*Mar.* My Lord Aumerle, is Harry Hereford arm'd?

*Aum.* Yea, at all points; and longs to enter in.

*Mar.* The Duke of Norfolk, sprightly and bold,  
Stays but the summons of the appellant's trumpet.

*Aum.* Why, then, the champions are prepared, and stay  
For nothing but his majesty's approach.

*The trumpets sound, and the KING enters with his nobles,  
GAUNT, BUSHY, BAGOT, GREEN, and others. When they  
are set, enter MOWBRAY in arms, defendant, with a Herald.*

*K. Rich.* Marshal, demand of yonder champion  
The cause of his arrival here in arms:  
Ask him his name and orderly proceed  
To swear him in the justice of his cause. 10

*Mar.* In God's name and the king's, say who thou art  
And why thou comest thus knightly clad in arms,  
Against what man thou comest, and what thy quarrel:  
Speak truly, on thy knighthood and thy oath;  
As so defend thee heaven and thy valour!

*Mow.* My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk:  
Who hither come engaged by my oath—  
Which God defend a knight should violate!—  
Both to defend my loyalty and truth  
To God, my king and my succeeding issue, 20  
Against the Duke of Hereford that appeals me;  
And, by the grace of God and this mine arm,  
To prove him, in defending of myself,  
A traitor to my God, my king, and me:  
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

*The trumpets sound. Enter BOLINGBROKE, appellant, in  
armour, with a Herald.*

*K. Rich.* Marshal, ask yonder knight in arms  
Both who he is and why he cometh hither  
Thus plated in habiliments of war,  
And formally, according to our law,  
Depose him in the justice of his cause. 30

*Mar.* What is thy name? and wherefore comest thou hither,  
Before King Richard in his royal lists?  
Against whom comest thou? and what's thy quarrel?  
Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven!

*Boling.* Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby  
Am I; who ready here do stand in arms,  
To prove, by God's grace and my body's valour,  
In lists, on Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,  
That he is a traitor, foul and dangerous,  
To God of heaven, King Richard and to me; 40  
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

*Mar.* On pain of death, no person be so bold  
Or daring-hardy as to touch the lists,  
Except the marshal and such officers  
Appointed to direct these fair designs.

*Boling.* Lord marshal, let me kiss my sovereign's hand,  
And bow my knee before his majesty:  
For Mowbray and myself are like two men  
That vow a long and weary pilgrimage;  
Then let us take a ceremonious leave  
And loving farewell of our several friends. 50

*Mar.* The appellant in all duty greets your highness,  
And craves to kiss your hand and take his leave.

*K. Rich.* We will descend and fold him in our arms.  
Cousin of Hereford, as thy cause is right,  
So be thy fortune in this royal fight!  
Farewell, my blood; which if to-day thou shed,  
Lament we may, but not revenge thee dead.

*Boling.* O, let no noble eye profane a tear  
For me, if I be gored with Mowbray's spear: 60  
As confident as is the falcon's flight  
Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.  
My loving lord, I take my leave of you;  
Of you, my noble cousin, Lord Aumerle;  
Not sick, although I have to do with death,  
But lusty, young, and cheerly drawing breath.  
Lo, as at English feasts, so I regret  
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweet:  
O thou, the earthly author of my blood,  
Whose youthful spirit, in me regenerate, 70  
Doth with a twofold vigour lift me up  
To reach at victory above my head,  
Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers;  
And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,  
That it may enter Mowbray's waxen coat,  
And furbish new the name of John a Gaunt,  
Even in the lusty haviour of his son.

*Gaunt.* God in thy good cause make thee prosperous!  
Be swift like lightning in the execution;  
And let thy blows, doubly redoubled, 80  
Fall like amazing thunder on the casque  
Of thy adverse pernicious enemy:  
Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant and live.

*Boling.* Mine innocency and Saint George to thrive!

*Mow.* However God or fortune cast my lot,  
There lives or dies, true to King Richard's throne,



A loyal, just and upright gentleman:  
 Never did captive with a freer heart  
 Cast off his chains of bondage and embrace  
 His golden uncontroll'd enfranchisement,  
 More than my dancing soul doth celebrate  
 This feast of battle with mine adversary.  
 Most mighty liege, and my companion peers,  
 Take from my mouth the wish of happy years.  
 As gentle and as jocund as to jest  
 Go I to fight: truth hath a quiet breast.

90

*K. Rich.* Farewell, my lord: securely I espy  
 Virtue with valour couched in thine eye.  
 Order the trial, marshal, and begin.

*Mar.* Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby, 100  
 Receive thy lance; and God defend the right!

*Boling.* Strong as a tower in hope, I cry amen.

*Mar.* Go bear this lance to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

*First Her.* Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby,  
 Stands here for God, his sovereign and himself,  
 On pain to be found false and recreant,  
 To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,  
 A traitor to his God, his king and him;  
 And dares him to set forward to the fight.

*Sec. Her.* Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, Duke of  
 Norfolk, 110

On pain to be found false and recreant,  
 Both to defend himself and to approve  
 Henry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,  
 To God, his sovereign and to him disloyal;  
 Courageously and with a free desire  
 Attending but the signal to begin.

*Mar.* Sound, trumpets; and set forward, combatants.

[*A charge sounded.*

Stay, the king hath thrown his warder down.

*K. Rich.* Let them lay by their helmets and their spears,  
 And both return back to their chairs again: 120  
 Withdraw with us: and let the trumpets sound  
 While we return these dukes what we decree.

[*A long flourish.*

Draw near,  
 And list what with our council we have done.  
 For that our kingdom's earth should not be soil'd  
 With that dear blood which it hath fostered;  
 And for our eyes do hate the dire aspect  
 Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbours' sword;

And for we think the eagle-winged pride  
Of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts,  
130 With rival-hating envy, set on you  
To wake our peace, which in our country's cradle  
Draws the sweet infant breath of gentle sleep;  
Which so roused up with boisterous untuned drums,  
With harsh-resounding trumpets' dreadful bray,  
And grating shock of wrathful iron arms,  
Might from our quiet confines fright fair peace  
And make us wade even in our kindred's blood;  
Therefore, we banish you our territories:  
You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,  
140 Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields  
Shall not regret our fair dominions,  
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

*Boling.* Your will be done: this must my comfort be,  
That sun that warms you here shall shine on me;  
And those his golden beams to you here lent  
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

*K. Rich.* Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,  
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce:  
The sly slow hours shall not determinate  
150 The dateless limit of thy dear exile;  
The hopeless word of 'never to return'  
Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.

*Mow.* A heavy sentence, my most sovereign liege,  
And all unlook'd for from your highness' mouth:  
A dearer merit, not so deep a maim  
As to be cast forth in the common air,  
Have I deserved at your highness' hands.  
The language I have learn'd these forty years,  
My native English, now I must forego:  
160 And now my tongue's use is to me no more  
Than an unstringed viol or a harp,  
Or like a cunning instrument cased up,  
Or, being open, put into his hands  
That knows no touch to tune the harmony:  
Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,  
Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips;  
And dull unfeeling barren ignorance  
Is made my gaoler to attend on me.  
I am too old to fawn upon a nurse,  
170 Too far in years to be a pupil now:  
What is thy sentence then but speechless death,  
Which robs my tongue from breathing native breath?

*K. Rich.* It boots thee not to be compassionate:  
After our sentence plaining comes too late.

*Mow.* Then thus I turn me from my country's light,  
To dwell in solemn shades of endless night.

*K. Rich.* Return again, and take an oath with thee.

Lay on our royal sword your banish'd hands;

Swear by the duty that you owe to God—

180

Our part therein we banish with yourselves—

To keep the oath that we administer:

You never shall, so help you truth and God!

Embrace each other's love in banishment;

Nor never look upon each other's face;

Nor never write, regreet, nor reconcile

This loursing tempest of your home-bred hate;

Nor never by advised purpose meet

To plot, contrive, or complot any ill

'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land.

190

*Boling.* I swear.

*Mow.* And I, to keep all this.

*Boling.* Norfolk, so far as to mine enemy:—

By this time, had the king permitted us,

One of our souls had wander'd in the air,

Banish'd this frail sepulchre of our flesh,

As now our flesh is banish'd from this land:

Confess thy treasons ere thou fly the realm;

Since thou hast far to go, bear not along

The clogging burthen of a guilty soul.

200

*Mow.* No, Bolingbroke: if ever I were traitor,

My name be blotted from the book of life,

And I from heaven banish'd as from hence!

But what thou art, God, thou, and I do know;

And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue.

Farewell, my liege. Now no way can I stray;

Save back to England, all the world's my way.

[Exit.]

*K. Rich.* Uncle, even in the glasses of thine eyes

I see thy grieved heart: thy sad aspect

Hath from the number of his banish'd years

210

Pluck'd four away. [To *Boling.*] Six frozen winters spent,

Return with welcome home from banishment.

*Boling.* How long a time lies in one little word!

Four lagging winters and four wanton springs

End in a word: such is the breath of kings.

*Gaunt.* I thank my liege, that in regard of me

He shortens four years of my son's exile:

But little vantage shall I reap thereby;

For, ere the six years that he hath to spend  
Can change their moons and bring their times about, 220  
My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light  
Shall be extinct with age and endless night;  
My inch of taper will be burnt and done,  
And blindfold death not let me see my son.

*K. Rich.* Why, uncle, thou hast many years to live.

*Gaunt.* But not a minute, king, that thou canst give:  
Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,  
And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow;  
Thou canst help time to furrow me with age,  
But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage; 230  
Thy word is current with him for my death,  
But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my breath.

*K. Rich.* Thy son is banish'd upon good advice,  
Whereto thy tongue a party-verdict gave:  
Why at our justice seem'st thou then to lour?

*Gaunt.* Things sweet to taste prove in digestion sour.  
You urged me as a judge; but I had rather  
You would have bid me argue like a father.  
O, had it been a stranger, not my child,  
To smooth his fault I should have been more mild: 240  
A partial slander sought I to avoid,  
And in the sentence my own life destroy'd.  
Alas, I look'd when some of you should say,  
I was too strict to make mine own away;  
But you gave leave to my unwilling tongue  
Against my will to do myself this wrong.

*K. Rich.* Cousin, farewell; and, uncle, bid him so:  
Six years we banish him, and he shall go.

[*Flourish.* *Exeunt King Richard and train.*

*Aum.* Cousin, farewell: what presence must not know,  
From where you do remain let paper show. 250

*Mar.* My lord, no leave take I; for I will ride,  
As far as land will let me, by your side.

*Gaunt.* O, to what purpose dost thou hoard thy words,  
That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends?

*Boling.* I have too few to take my leave of you,  
When the tongue's office should be prodigal  
To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.

*Gaunt.* Thy grief is but thy absence for a time.

*Boling.* Joy absent, grief is present for that time.

*Gaunt.* What is six winters? they are quickly gone. 260

*Boling.* To men in joy; but grief makes one hour ten.

*Gaunt.* Call it a travel that thou takest for pleasure.

*Boling.* My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,  
Which finds it an inforced pilgrimage.

*Gaunt.* The sullen passage of thy weary steps  
Esteem as foil wherein thou art to set  
The precious jewel of thy home return.

*Boling.* Nay, rather, every tedious stride I make  
Will but remember me what a deal of world  
I wander from the jewels that I love. 270  
Must I not serve a long apprenticeship  
To foreign passages, and in the end,  
Having my freedom, boast of nothing else  
But that I was a journeyman to grief?

*Gaunt.* All places that the eye of heaven visits  
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.  
Teach thy necessity to reason thus;  
There is no virtue like necessity.  
Think not the king did banish thee,  
But thou the king. Woe doth the heavier sit, 280  
Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.  
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour  
And not the king exiled thee; or suppose  
Devouring pestilence hangs in our air  
And thou art flying to a fresher clime:  
Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it  
To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou comest:  
Suppose the singing birds musicians,  
The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strew'd,  
The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more 290  
Than a delightful measure or a dance;  
For gnarling sorrow hath less power to bite  
The man that mocks at it and sets it light.

*Boling.* O, who can hold a fire in his hand  
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?  
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite  
By bare imagination of a feast?  
Or wallow naked in December snow  
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat?  
O, no! the apprehension of the good 300  
Gives but the greater feeling to the worse:  
Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle more  
Than when he bites, but lanceth not the sore.

*Gaunt.* Come, come, my son, I'll bring thee on thy way:  
Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay.

*Boling.* Then, England's ground, farewell; sweet soil, adieu;  
My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet!

Where'er I wander, boast of this I can,  
Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *The court.*

*Enter the KING, with BAGOT and GREEN at one door;  
and the DUKE OF AUMERLE at another.*

*K. Rich.* We did observe. . Cousin Aumerle,  
How far brought you high Hereford on his way?

*Aum.* I brought high Hereford, if you call him so,  
But to the next highway, and there I left him.

*K. Rich.* And say, what store of parting tears were shed?

*Aum.* Faith, none for me; except the north-east wind,  
Which then blew bitterly against our faces,  
Awaked the sleeping rheum, and so by chance  
Did grace our hollow parting with a tear.

*K. Rich.* What said our cousin when you parted with him?

*Aum.* 'Farewell':

11

And, for my heart disdained that my tongue  
Should so profane the word, that taught me craft  
To counterfeit oppression of such grief  
That words seem'd buried in my sorrow's grave.  
Marry, would the word 'farewell' have lengthen'd hours  
And added years to his short banishment,  
He should have had a volume of farewells;  
But since it would not, he had none of me.

*K. Rich.* He is our cousin, cousin; but 't is doubt,

20

When time shall call him home from banishment,  
Whether our kinsman come to see his friends.

Ourselves and Bushy, Bagot here and Green  
Observed his courtship to the common people;  
How he did seem to dive into their hearts  
With humble and familiar courtesy,

What reverence he did throw away on slaves,  
Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles  
And patient underbearing of his fortune,  
As 't were to banish their affects with him.

30

Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench;  
A brace of draymen bid God speed him well  
And had the tribute of his supple knee,  
With 'Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends';  
As were our England in reversion his,  
And he our subjects' next degree in hope.

*Green.* Well, he is gone; and with him go these thoughts

Now for the rebels which stand out in Ireland,  
 Expedient manage must be made; my liege,  
 Ere further leisure yield them further means 40  
 For their advantage and your highness' loss.

*K. Rich.* We will ourself in person to this war:  
 And, for our coffers, with too great a court  
 And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,  
 We are inforced to farm our royal realm;  
 The revenue whereof shall furnish us  
 For our affairs in hand: if that come short,  
 Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters;  
 Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,  
 They shall subscribe them for large sums of gold 50  
 And send them after to supply our wants;  
 For we will make for Ireland presently.

*Enter BUSHY.*

Bushy, what news?

*Bushy.* Old John of Gaunt is grievous sick, my lord,  
 Suddenly taken; and hath sent post haste  
 To entreat your majesty to visit him.

*K. Rich.* Where lies he?

*Bushy.* At Ely House.

*K. Rich.* Now put it, God, in the physician's mind  
 To help him to his grave immediately! 60  
 The lining of his coffers shall make coats  
 To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars.  
 Come, gentlemen, let's all go visit him:  
 Pray God we may make haste, and come too late!

*All.* Amen.

[*Exeunt.*]

## ACT II.

### SCENE I. *Ely House.*

*Enter JOHN OF GAUNT sick, with the DUKE OF YORK, &c.*

*Gaunt.* Will the king come, that I may breathe my last  
 In wholesome counsel to his unstaid youth?

*York.* Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath;  
 For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.

*Gaunt.* O, but they say the tongues of dying men  
 Enforce attention like deep harmony:  
 Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain,  
 For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain.



He that no more must say is listen'd more

Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glose; 10  
More are men's ends mark'd than their lives before:

The setting sun, and music at the close,  
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,  
Writ in remembrance more than things long past:  
Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear,  
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.

*York.* No; it is stopp'd with other flattering sounds,  
As praises, of whose taste the wise are fond,  
Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound  
The open ear of youth doth always listen; 20  
Report of fashions in proud Italy,  
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation  
Limps after in base imitation.

Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity—  
So it be new, there's no respect how vile—  
That is not quickly buzz'd into his ears?

Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,  
Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.

Direct not him whose way himself will choose:

'Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt thou lose. 30

*Gaunt.* Methinks I am a prophet new inspired  
And thus expiring do foretell of him:

His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,  
For violent fires soon burn out themselves;  
Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short;  
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes;  
With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder:

Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,  
Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.  
This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle, 40  
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself

Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,

This precious stone set in the silver sea,  
Which serves it in the office of a wall,

Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England, 50  
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,

Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,  
Renowned for their deeds as far from home.

For Christian service and true chivalry,  
 As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry  
 Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son,  
 This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,  
 Dear for her reputation through the world,  
 Is now leased out, I die pronouncing it,  
 Like to a tenement or pelting farm :  
 England, bound in with the triumphant sea,  
 Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege  
 Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,  
 With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds :  
 That England, that was wont to conquer others,  
 Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.  
 Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,  
 How happy then were my ensuing death !

60

*Enter* KING RICHARD *and* QUEEN, AUMERLE, BUSHY,  
 GREEN, BAGOT, ROSS, *and* WILLOUGHBY.

*York.* The king is come : deal mildly with his youth ;  
 For young hot colts being raged do rage the more. 70

*Queen.* How fares our noble uncle, Lancaster?

*K. Rich.* What comfort, man? how is't with aged Gaunt?

*Gaunt.* Oh, how that name befits my composition !

Old Gaunt indeed, and Gaunt in being old :

Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast ;

And who abstains from meat that is not gaunt?

For sleeping England long time have I watch'd ;

Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt :

The pleasure that some fathers feed upon,

Is my strict fast ; I mean, my children's looks ; 80

And therein fasting, hast thou made me gaunt :

Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,

Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.

*K. Rich.* Can sick men play so nicely with their names?

*Gaunt.* No, misery makes sport to mock itself :

Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,

I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.

*K. Rich.* Should dying men flatter with those that live?

*Gaunt.* No, no, men living flatter those that die.

*K. Rich.* Thou, now a-dying, say'st thou flatterest me. 90

*Gaunt.* O, no ! thou diest, though I the sicker be.

*K. Rich.* I am in health, I breathe, and see thee ill.

*Gaunt.* Now He that made me knows I see thee ill ;

Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill.

Thy death-bed is no lesser than thy land

Wherein thou liest in reputation sick ;  
And thou, too careless patient as thou art,  
Commit'st thy anointed body to the cure  
Of those physicians that first wounded thee :  
A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown, 100  
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head ;  
And yet, incaged in so small a verge,  
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.  
O, had thy grandsire with a prophet's eye  
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons,  
From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,  
Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd,  
Which art possess'd now to depose thyself.  
Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,  
It were a shame to let this land by lease ; 110  
But for thy world enjoying but this land,  
Is it not more than shame to shame it so?  
Landlord of England art thou now, not king :  
Thy state of law is bonds slave to the law ;  
And thou—

*K. Rich.* A lunatic lean-witted fool,  
Presuming on an ague's privilege,  
Darest with thy frozen admonition  
Make pale our cheek, chasing the royal blood  
With fury from his native residence.  
Now, by my seat's right royal majesty, 120  
Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,  
This tongue that runs so roundly in thy head  
Should run thy head from thy unreverent shoulders.

*Gaunt.* O, spare me not, my brother Edward's son,  
For that I was his father Edward's son ;  
That blood already, like the pelican,  
Hast thou tapp'd out and drunkenly caroused :  
My brother Gloucester, plain well-meaning soul,  
Whom fair befall in heaven 'mongst happy souls !  
May be a precedent and witness good 130  
That thou respect'st not spilling Edward's blood :  
Join with the present sickness that I have ;  
And thy unkindness be like crooked age,  
To crop at once a too long wither'd flower.  
Live in thy shame, but die not shame with thee !  
These words hereafter thy tormentors be !  
Convey me to my bed, then to my grave :  
Love they to live that love and honour have.

[*Exit, borne off by his Attendants.*]

*K. Rich.* And let them die that age and sullens have ;  
For both hast thou, and both become the grave. 140

*York.* I do beseech your majesty, impute his words  
To wayward sickliness and age in him :  
He loves you, on my life, and holds you dear  
As Harry Duke of Hereford, were he here.

*K. Rich.* Right, you say true : as Hereford's love, so his ;  
As theirs, so mine ; and all be as it is.

*Enter NORTHUMBERLAND.*

*North.* My liege, old Gaunt commends him to your majesty.

*K. Rich.* What says he ?

*North.* Nay, nothing ; all is said :

His tongue is now a stringless instrument ;  
Words, life and all, old Lancaster hath spent. 150

*York.* Be York the next that must be bankrupt so !  
Though death be poor, it ends a mortal woe.

*K. Rich.* The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he ;  
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be.

So much for that. Now for our Irish wars :

We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns,

Which live like venom where no venom else

But only they have privilege to live.

And for these great affairs do ask some charge,

Towards our assistance we do seize to us

The plate, coin, revenues and moveables,

Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd. 160

*York.* How long shall I be patient ? ah, how long  
Shall tender duty make me suffer wrong ?

Not Gloucester's death, nor Hereford's banishment,

Not Gaunt's rebukes, nor England's private wrongs,

Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke

About his marriage, nor my own disgrace,

Have ever made me sour my patient cheek,

Or bend one wrinkle on my sovereign's face. 170

I am the last of noble Edward's sons,

Of whom thy father, Prince of Wales, was first :

In war was never lion raged more fierce,

In peace was never gentle lamb more mild,

Than was that young and princely gentleman.

His face thou hast, for even so look'd he,

Accomplish'd with the number of thy hours ;

But when he frown'd, it was against the French

And not against his friends ; his noble hand

Did win what he did spend and spent not that 180

Which his triumphant father's hand had won ;  
His hands were guilty of no kindred blood,  
But bloody with the enemies of his kin.  
O Richard ! York is too far gone with grief,  
Or else he never would compare between.

*K. Rich.* Why, uncle, what's the matter?

*York.*

O my liege,

Pardon me, if you please ; if not, I, pleased  
Not to be pardon'd, am content withal.  
Seek you to seize and gripe into your hands  
The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford? 190  
Is not Gaunt dead, and doth not Hereford live?  
Was not Gaunt just, and is not Harry true?  
Did not the one deserve to have an heir?  
Is not his heir a well-deserving son?  
Take Hereford's rights away, and take from Time  
His charters and his customary rights ;  
Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day ;  
Be not thyself ; for how art thou a king  
But by fair sequence and succession?  
Now, afore God—God forbid I say true !— 200  
If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,  
Call in the letters patents that he hath  
By his attorneys-general to sue  
His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,  
You pluck a thousand dangers on your head,  
You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts  
And prick my tender patience to those thoughts  
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

*K. Rich.* Think what you will, we seize into our hands  
His plate, his goods, his money and his lands. 210

*York.* I'll not be by the while: my liege, farewell:  
What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell;  
But by bad courses may be understood  
That their events can never fall out good. [Exit.

*K. Rich.* Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wiltshire straight:  
Bid him repair to us to Ely House  
To see this business. To-morrow next  
We will for Ireland ; and 't is time, I trow:  
And we create, in absence of ourself,  
Our uncle York lord governor of England ; 220  
For he is just and always loved us well.  
Come on, our queen: to-morrow must we part ;  
Be merry, for our time of stay is short. [Flourish.

*Exeunt King, Queen, Aumerle, Bushy, Green, and Bagot.*

*North.* Well, lords, the Duke of Lancaster is dead.

*Ross.* And living too: for now his son is duke.

*Willo.* Barely in title, not in revenue.

*North.* Richly in both, if justice had her right.

*Ross.* My heart is great; but it must break with silence,  
Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal tongue.

*North.* Nay, speak thy mind; and let him ne'er speak more  
That speaks thy words again to do thee harm! 231

*Willo.* Tends that thou wouldst speak to the Duke of  
Hereford?

If it be so, out with it boldly, man;  
Quick is mine ear to hear of good towards him.

*Ross.* No good at all that I can do for him;  
Unless you call it good to pity him,  
Bereft and gelded of his patrimony.

*North.* Now, afore God, 't is shame such wrongs are borne  
In him, a royal prince, and many moe  
Of noble blood in this declining land. 240

The king is not himself, but basely led  
By flatterers; and what they will inform,  
Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,  
That will the king severely prosecute

'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our heirs.

*Ross.* The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes,  
And quite lost their hearts: the nobles hath he fined  
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.

*Willo.* And daily new exactions are devised,  
As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what: 250  
But what, o' God's name, doth become of this?

*North.* Wars have not wasted it, for warr'd he hath not,  
But basely yielded upon compromise  
That which his noble ancestors achieved with blows:  
More hath he spent in peace than they in wars.

*Ross.* The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.

*Willo.* The king's grown bankrupt, like a broken man.

*North.* Reproach and dissolution hangeth over him.

*Ross.* He hath not money for these Irish wars,  
His burthenous taxations notwithstanding, 260  
But by the robbing of the banish'd duke.

*North.* His noble kinsman: most degenerate king!  
But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,  
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;  
We see the wind sit sore upon our sails,  
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.

*Ross.* We see the very wreck that we must suffer;

And unavoided is the danger now,  
For suffering so the causes of our wreck.

*North.* Not so; even through the hollow eyes of death 270  
I spy life peering; but I dare not say  
How near the tidings of our comfort is.

*Willo.* Nay, let us share thy thoughts, as thou dost ours.

*Ross.* Be confident to speak, Northumberland:  
We three are but thyself; and, speaking so,  
Thy words are but as thoughts; therefore, be bold.

*North.* Then thus: I have from Port le Blanc, a bay  
In Brittany, received intelligence  
That Harry Duke of Hereford, Rainold Lord Cobham,  
† 280

That late broke from the Duke of Exeter,  
His brother, Archbishop late of Canterbury,  
Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir John Ramston,  
Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton and Francis Quoint,  
All these well furnish'd by the Duke of Bretagne  
With eight tall ships, three thousand men of war,  
Are making hither with all due expedience  
And shortly mean to touch our northern shore:  
Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay  
The first departing of the king for Ireland. 290  
If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,  
Imp out our drooping country's broken wing,  
Redeem from broking pawn the blemish'd crown,  
Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt  
And make high majesty look like itself,  
Away with me in post to Ravenspurgh;  
But if you faint, as fearing to do so,  
Stay and be secret, and myself will go.

*Ross.* To horse, to horse! urge doubts to them that fear.

*Willo.* Hold out my horse, and I will first be there. 300  
[*Exeunt.*]

## SCENE II. Windsor Castle.

*Enter* QUEEN, BUSHY, and BAGOT.

*Bushy.* Madam, your majesty is too much sad:  
You promised, when you parted with the king,  
To lay aside life-harming heaviness  
And entertain a cheerful disposition.

*Queen.* To please the king I did; to please myself  
I cannot do it; yet I know no cause  
Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,



Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest  
 As my sweet Richard: yet again, methinks,  
 Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb,  
 Is coming towards me, and my inward soul  
 With nothing trembles: at some thing it grieves,  
 More than with parting from my lord the king.

10

*Bushy.* Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,  
 Which shows like grief itself, but, is not so;  
 For sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears,  
 Divides one thing entire to many objects;  
 Like perspectives, which rightly gazed upon  
 Show nothing but confusion, eyed awry  
 Distinguish form: so your sweet majesty,  
 Looking awry upon your lord's departure,  
 Find shapes of grief, more than himself, to wail;  
 Which, look'd on as it is, is nought but shadows  
 Of what it is not. Then, thrice-gracious queen,  
 More than your lord's departure weep not: more's not seen;  
 Or if it be, 't is with false sorrow's eye,  
 Which for things true weeps things imaginary.

20

*Queen.* It may be so; but yet my inward soul  
 Persuades me it is otherwise: howe'er it be,  
 I cannot but be sad; so heavy sad  
 As, though on thinking on no thought I think,  
 Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink.

30

*Bushy.* 'T is nothing but conceit, my gracious lady.

*Queen.* 'T is nothing less: conceit is still derived  
 From some forefather grief; mine is not so,  
 For nothing hath begot my something grief;  
 Or something hath the nothing that I grieve:  
 'T is in reversion that I do possess;  
 But what it is, that is not yet known; what  
 I cannot name; 't is nameless woe, I wot.

40

*Enter GREEN.*

*Green.* God save your majesty! and well met, gentlemen:  
 I hope the king is not yet shipp'd for Ireland.

*Queen.* Why hopest thou so? 't is better hope he is;  
 For his designs crave haste, his haste good hope:  
 Then wherefore dost thou hope he is not shipp'd?

*Green.* That he, our hope, might have retired his power,  
 And driven into despair an enemy's hope,  
 Who strongly hath set footing in this land:  
 The banish'd Bolingbroke repeals himself,  
 And with uplifted arms is safe arrived

50

At Ravenspurgh.

*Queen.* Now God in heaven forbid!

*Green.* Ah, madam, 't is too true: and that is worse,  
The Lord Northumberland, his son young Henry Percy,  
The Lords of Ross, Beaumond, and Willoughby,  
With all their powerful friends, are fled to him.

*Bushy.* Why have you not proclaim'd Northumberland  
And all the rest revolted faction traitors?

*Green.* We have: whereupon the Earl of Worcester  
Hath broke his staff, resign'd his stewardship,  
And all the household servants fled with him  
To Bolingbroke. 60

*Queen.* So, Green, thou art the midwife to my woe,  
And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir:  
Now hath my soul brought forth her prodigy,  
And I, a gasping new-deliver'd mother,  
Have woe to woe, sorrow to sorrow join'd.

*Bushy.* Despair not, madam.

*Queen.* Who shall hinder me?

I will despair, and be at enmity  
With cozening hope: he is a flatterer,  
A parasite, a keeper back of death, 70  
Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,  
Which false hope lingers in extremity.

*Enter YORK.*

*Green.* Here comes the Duke of York.

*Queen.* With signs of war about his aged neck:  
O, full of careful business are his looks!  
Uncle, for God's sake, speak comfortable words.

*York.* Should I do so, I should belie my thoughts:  
Comfort's in heaven; and we are on the earth,  
Where nothing lives but crosses, cares and grief.  
Your husband, he is gone to save far off, 80  
Whilst others come to make him lose at home.  
Here am I left to underprop his land,  
Who, weak with age, cannot support myself:  
Now comes the sick hour that his surfeit made;  
Now shall he try his friends that flatter'd him.

*Enter a Servant.*

*Serv.* My lord, your son was gone before I came.

*York.* He was? Why, so! go all which way it will!  
The nobles they are fled, the commons they are cold,  
And will, I fear, revolt on Hereford's side.  
Sirrah, get thee to Plashy, to my sister Gloucester; 90

Bid her send me presently a thousand pound:  
Hold, take my ring.

*Serv.* My lord, I had forgot to tell your lordship,  
To-day, as I came by, I called there;  
But I shall grieve you to report the rest.

*York.* What is't, knave?

*Serv.* An hour before I came, the duchess died.

*York.* God for his mercy! what a tide of woes  
Comes rushing on this woeful land at once!  
I know not what to do: I would to God, 100  
So my untruth had not provoked him to it,  
The king had cut off my head with my brother's.  
What, are there no posts dispatch'd for Ireland?  
How shall we do for money for these wars?  
Come, sister,—cousin, I would say,—pray, pardon me.  
Go, fellow, get thee home, provide some carts  
And bring away the armour that is there. [*Exit Servant.*  
Gentlemen, will you go muster men?  
If I know how or which way to order these affairs  
Thus thrust disorderly into my hands, 110  
Never believe me. Both are my kinsmen:  
Th' one is my sovereign, whom both my oath  
And duty bids defend; th' other again  
Is my kinsman, whom the king hath wrong'd,  
Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right.  
Well, somewhat we must do. Come, cousin, I'll  
Dispose of you.  
Gentlemen, go, muster up your men,  
And meet me presently at Berkeley.  
I should to Plashy too; 120  
But time will not permit: all is uneven,  
And everything is left at six and seven.

[*Exeunt York and Queen.*

*Bushy.* The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland,  
But none returns. For us to levy power  
Proportionable to the enemy  
Is all impossible.

*Green.* Besides, our nearness to the king in love  
Is near the hate of those love not the king.

*Bagot.* And that's the wavering commons: for their love  
Lies in their purses, and whoso empties them 130  
By so much fills their hearts with deadly hate.

*Bushy.* Wherein the king stands generally condemn'd.

*Bagot.* If judgement lie in them, then so do we,  
Because we ever have been near the king,

*Green.* Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle:  
The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.

*Bushy.* Thither will I with you; for little office  
The hateful commons will perform for us,  
Except like curs to tear us all to pieces.  
Will you go along with us?

140

*Bagot.* No; I will to Ireland to his majesty.  
Farewell: if heart's presages be not vain,  
We three here part that ne'er shall meet again.

*Bushy.* That's as York thrives to beat back Bolingbroke.

*Green.* Alas, poor duke! the task he undertakes  
Is numbering sands and drinking oceans dry:  
Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly.  
Farewell at once, for once, for all, and ever.

*Bushy.* Well, we may meet again.

*Bagot.* I fear me, never. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Wilds in Gloucestershire.*

*Enter BOLINGBROKE and NORTHUMBERLAND, with Forces.*

*Boling.* How far is it, my lord, to Berkeley now?

*North.* Believe me, noble lord,  
I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire:  
These high wild hills and rough uneven ways  
Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome;  
And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,  
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.  
But I bethink me what a weary way  
From Ravenspurgh to Cotswold will be found  
In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company, 10  
Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled  
The tediousness and process of my travel:  
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to have  
The present benefit which I possess;  
And hope to joy is little less in joy  
Than hope enjoy'd: by this the weary lords  
Shall make their way seem short, as mine hath done  
By sight of what I have, your noble company.

*Boling.* Of much less value is my company  
Than your good words. But who comes here? 20

*Enter HENRY PERCY.*

*North.* It is my son, young Harry Percy,  
Sent from my brother Worcester, whencesoever.  
Harry, how fares your uncle?

*Percy.* I had thought, my lord, to have learn'd his health of you.

*North.* Why, is he not with the queen?

*Percy.* No, my good Lord; he hath forsook the court,  
Broken his staff of office and dispersed  
The household of the king.

*North.* What was his reason?

He was not so resolved when last we spake together.

*Percy.* Because your lordship was proclaimed traitor. 30  
But he, my lord, is gone to Ravenspurgh,  
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,  
And sent me over by Berkeley, to discover  
What power the Duke of York had levied there;  
Then with directions to repair to Ravenspurgh.

*North.* Have you forgot the Duke of Hereford, boy?

*Percy.* No, my good lord, for that is not forgot  
Which ne'er I did remember: to my knowledge,  
I never in my life did look on him.

*North.* Then learn to know him now; this is the duke. 40

*Percy.* My gracious lord, I tender you my service,  
Such as it is, being tender, raw and young;  
Which elder days shall ripen and confirm  
To more approved service and desert.

*Boling.* I thank thee, gentle Percy; and be sure  
I count myself in nothing else so happy  
As in a soul remembering my good friends;  
And, as my fortune ripens with thy love,  
It shall be still thy true love's recompense:  
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seals it. 50

*North.* How far is it to Berkeley? and what stir  
Keeps good old York there with his men of war?

*Percy.* There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,  
Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard;  
And in it are the Lords of York, Berkeley, and Seymour;  
None else of name and noble estimate.

*Enter ROSS and WILLOUGHBY.*

*North.* Here come the Lords of Ross and Willoughby,  
Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste.

*Boling.* Welcome, my lords. I wot your love pursues  
A banish'd traitor: all my treasury 60  
Is yet but unfelt thanks, which more enrich'd  
Shall be your love and labour's recompense.

*Ross.* Your presence makes us rich, most noble lord.

*Will.* And far surmounts our labour to attain it.

*Boling.* Evermore thanks, the exchequer of the poor;  
Which, till my infant fortune comes to years,  
Stands for my bounty. But who comes here?

*Enter* BERKELEY.

*North.* It is my lord of Berkeley, as I guess.

*Berk.* My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.

*Boling.* My lord, my answer is—to Lancaster; 70  
And I am come to seek that name in England;  
And I must find that title in your tongue,  
Before I make reply to aught you say.

*Berk.* Mistake me not, my lord; 't is not my meaning  
To raze one title of your honour out:  
To you, my lord, I come, what lord you will,  
From the most gracious regent of this land,  
The Duke of York, to know what pricks you on  
To take advantage of the absent time  
And fright our native peace with self-borne arms. 80

*Enter* YORK *attended.*

*Boling.* I shall not need transport my words by you;  
Here comes his grace in person.

My noble uncle! [*Kneels.*]

*York.* Show me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,  
Whose duty is deceivable and false.

*Boling.* My gracious uncle—

*York.* Tut, tut!

Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle:  
I am no traitor's uncle; and that word 'grace'  
In an ungracious mouth is but profane.  
Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs 90  
Dared once to touch a dust of England's ground?  
But then more 'why?' why have they dared to march  
So many miles upon her peaceful bosom,  
Frighting her pale-faced villages with war  
And ostentation of despised arms?  
Comest thou because the anointed king is hence?  
Why, foolish boy, the king is left behind,  
And in my loyal bosom lies his power.  
Were I but now the lord of such hot youth  
As when brave Gaunt, thy father, and myself 100  
Rescued the Black Prince, that young Mars of men,  
From forth the ranks of many thousand French,  
O, then how quickly should this arm of mine,  
Now prisoner to the palsy, chastise thee

And minister correction to thy fault!

*Boling.* My gracious uncle, let me know my fault:  
On what condition stands it and wherein?

*York.* Even in condition of the worst degree,  
In gross rebellion and detested treason:  
Thou art a banish'd man, and here art come 110  
Before the expiration of thy time,  
In braving arms against thy sovereign.

*Boling.* As I was banish'd, I was banish'd Hereford;  
But as I come, I come for Lancaster.  
And, noble uncle, I beseech your grace  
Look on my wrongs with an indifferent eye:  
You are my father, for methinks in you  
I see old Gaunt alive; O, then, my father,  
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd  
A wandering vagabond; my rights and royalties 120  
Pluck'd from my arms perforce and given away  
To upstart unthrifths? Wherefore was I born?  
If that my cousin king be King of England,  
It must be granted I am Duke of Lancaster.  
You have a son, Aumerle, my noble cousin;  
Had you first died, and he been thus trod down,  
He should have found his uncle Gaunt a father,  
To rouse his wrongs and chase them to the bay.  
I am denied to sue my livery here,  
And yet my letters-patents give me leave: 130  
My father's goods are all distrain'd and sold,  
And these and all are all amiss employ'd.  
What would you have me do? I am a subject,  
And I challenge law: attorneys are denied me;  
And therefore personally I lay my claim  
To my inheritance of free descent.

*North.* The noble duke hath been too much abused.

*Ross.* It stands your grace upon to do him right.

*Willo.* Base men by his endowments are made great.

*York.* My lords of England, let me tell you this: 140  
I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs  
And laboured all I could to do him right;  
But in this kind to come, in braving arms,  
Be his own carver and cut out his way,  
To find out right with wrong, it may not be;  
And you that do abet him in this kind  
Cherish rebellion and are rebels all.

*North.* The noble duke hath sworn his coming is  
But for his own; and for the right of that



We all have strongly sworn to give him aid:  
And let him ne'er see joy that breaks that oath! 150

*York.* Well, well, I see the issue of these arms:  
I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,  
Because my power is weak and all ill left:  
But if I could, by Him that gave me life,  
I would attach you all and make you stoop  
Unto the sovereign mercy of the king;  
But since I cannot, be it known to you  
I do remain as neuter. So, fare you well;  
Unless you please to enter in the castle 160  
And there repose you for this night.

*Boling.* An offer, uncle, that we will accept:  
But we must win your grace to go with us  
To Bristol castle, which they say is held  
By Bushy, Bagot and their complices,  
The caterpillars of the commonwealth,  
Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

*York.* It may be I will go with you: but yet I'll pause;  
For I am loath to break our country's laws.  
Nor friends nor foes, to me welcome you are: 170  
Things past redress are now with me past care. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *A camp in Wales.*

*Enter SALISBURY and a Welsh Captain.*

*Cap.* My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd ten days,  
And hardly kept our countrymen together,  
And yet we hear no tidings from the king;  
Therefore we will disperse ourselves: farewell.

*Sal.* Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welshman:  
The king reposeth all his confidence in thee.

*Cap.* 'Tis thought the king is dead; we will not stay.  
The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd  
And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven;  
The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth 180  
And lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change:  
Rich men look sad and ruffians dance and leap,  
The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,  
The other to enjoy by rage and war:  
These signs forerun the death or fall of kings.  
Farewell: our countrymen are gone and fled,  
As well assured Richard their king is dead. [*Exit.*]

*Sal.* Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy mind

I see thy glory like a shooting star  
Fall to the base earth from the firmament. 20  
Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,  
Witnessing storms to come, woe and unrest :  
Thy friends are fled to wait upon thy foes,  
And crossly to thy good all fortune goes. [Exit.]

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## ACT III.

SCENE I. *Bristol. Before the castle.*

*Enter* BOLINGBROKE, YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, ROSS,  
PERCY, WILLOUGHBY, *with* BUSHY and GREEN, *prisoners.*

*Boling.* Bring forth these men.

Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls—  
Since presently your souls must part your bodies—  
With too much urging your pernicious lives,  
For 't were no charity; yet, to wash your blood  
From off my hands, here in the view of men  
I will unfold some causes of your deaths.  
You have misled a prince, a royal king,  
A happy gentleman in blood and lineaments,  
By you unhappied and disfigured clean : 10  
You have in manner with your sinful hours  
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,  
Broke the possession of a royal bed  
And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks  
With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.  
Myself, a prince by fortune of my birth,  
Near to the king in blood, and near in love  
Till you did make him misinterpret me,  
Have stoop'd my neck under your injuries,  
And sigh'd my English breath in foreign clouds. 20  
Eating the bitter bread of banishment ;  
Whilst you have fed upon my signories,  
Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,  
From my own windows torn my household coat,  
Razed out my imprese, leaving me no sign,  
Save men's opinions and my living blood,  
To show the world I am a gentleman.  
This and much more, much more than twice all this,  
Condemns you to the death. See them deliver'd over

To execution and the hand of death.

30

*Bushy.* More welcome is the stroke of death to me  
Than Bolingbroke to England. Lords, farewell.

*Green.* My comfort is that heaven will take our souls  
And plague injustice with the pains of hell.

*Boling.* My Lord Northumberland, see them dispatch'd.

[*Exeunt Northumberland and others, with the prisoners.*]

Uncle, you say the queen is at your house;  
For God's sake, fairly let her be entreated:  
Tell her I send to her my kind commends;  
Take special care my greetings be deliver'd.

*York.* A gentleman of mine I have dispatch'd  
With letters of your love to her at large.

40

*Boling.* Thanks, gentle uncle. Come, lords, away,  
To fight with Glendower and his complices:  
Awhile to work, and after holiday.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *The coast of Wales. A castle in view.*

*Drums: flourish and colours. Enter KING RICHARD, the  
BISHOP OF CARLISLE, AUMERLE, and Soldiers.*

*K. Rich.* Barkloughly castle call they this at hand?

*Aum.* Yea, my lord. How brooks your grace the air,  
After your late tossing on the breaking seas?

*K. Rich.* Needs must I like it well: I weep for joy  
To stand upon my kingdom once again.

Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,  
Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs:

As a long-parted mother with her child  
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting,

So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth,  
And do thee favours with my royal hands.

10

Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,  
Nor with thy sweets comfort his ravenous sense;

But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom,  
And heavy-gaited toads lie in their way,

Doing annoyance to the treacherous feet  
Which with usurping steps do trample thee:

Yield stinging nettles to mine enemies;

And when they from thy bosom pluck a flower,  
Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder

20

Whose double tongue may with a mortal touch  
Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.

Mock not my senseless conjuration, lords:

This earth shall have a feeling and these stones  
 Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king  
 Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

*Car.* Fear not, my lord: that Power that made you king  
 Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.  
 The means that heaven yields must be embraced,  
 And not neglected; else, if heaven would, 30  
 And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,  
 The proffer'd means of succour and redress.

*Aum.* He means, my lord, that we are too remiss;  
 Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security,  
 Grows strong and great in substance and in power.

*K. Rich.* Discomfortable cousin! know'st thou not  
 That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,  
 Behind the globe, that lights the lower world,  
 Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen  
 In murders and in outrage, boldly here; 40  
 But when from under this terrestrial ball  
 He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines  
 And darts his light through every guilty hole,  
 Then murders, treasons and detested sins,  
 The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs,  
 Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?  
 So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,  
 Who all this while hath revell'd in the night  
 Whilst we were wandering with the antipodes,  
 Shall see us rising in our throne, the east, 50  
 His treasons will sit blushing in his face,  
 Not able to endure the sight of day,  
 But self-affrighted tremble at his sin.  
 Not all the water in the rough rude sea  
 Can wash the balm off from an anointed king;  
 The breath of worldly men cannot depose  
 The deputy elected by the Lord:  
 For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd  
 To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown,  
 God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay 60  
 A glorious angel: then, if angels fight,  
 Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right.

*Enter SALISBURY.*

Welcome, my lord: how far off lies your power?

*Sal.* Nor near nor farther off, my gracious lord,  
 Than this weak arm: discomfort guides my tongue  
 And bids me speak of nothing but despair.

One day too late, I fear me, noble lord,  
Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth :  
O, call back yesterday, bid time return,  
And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting men ! 70  
To-day, to-day, unhappy day, too late,  
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune and thy state .  
For all the Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,  
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled.

*Aum.* Comfort, my liege : why looks your grace so pale?

*K. Rich.* But now the blood of twenty thousand men  
Did triumph in my face, and they are fled ;  
And, till so much blood thither come again,  
Have I not reason to look pale and dead ?  
All souls that will be safe fly from my side, 80  
For time hath set a blot upon my pride.

*Aum.* Comfort, my liege ; remember who you are.

*K. Rich.* I had forgot myself : am I not king ?  
Awake, thou coward majesty ! thou sleepest.  
Is not the king's name twenty thousand names ?  
Arm, arm, my name ! a puny subject strikes  
At thy great glory. Look not to the ground,  
Ye favourites of a king : are we not high ?  
High be our thoughts : I know my uncle York 89  
Hath power enough to serve our turn. But who comes here ?

*Enter SCROOP.*

*Scroop.* More health and happiness betide my liege  
Than can my care-tuned tongue deliver him !

*K. Rich.* Mine ear is open and my heart prepared :  
The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold.  
Say, is my kingdom lost ? why, 't was my care ;  
And what loss is it to be rid of care ?  
Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we ?  
Greater he shall not be ; if he serve God,  
We'll serve Him too and be his fellow so :  
Revolt our subjects ? that we cannot mend ; 100  
They break their faith to God as well as us :  
Cry woe, destruction, ruin and decay ;  
The worst is death, and death will have his day.

*Scroop.* Glad am I that your highness is so arm'd  
To bear the tidings of calamity.  
Like an unseasonable stormy day,  
Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,  
As if the world were all dissolved to tears,  
So high above his limits swells the rage

Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land 110  
 With hard bright steel and hearts harder than steel.  
 White-beards have arm'd their thin and hairless scalps  
 Against thy majesty; boys, with women's voices,  
 Strive to speak big and clap their female joints  
 In stiff unwieldy arms against thy crown:  
 Thy very beadsmen learn to bend their bows  
 Of double-fatal yew against thy state;  
 Yea, distaff-women manage rusty bills  
 Against thy seat: both young and old rebel,  
 And all goes worse than I have power to tell. 120

*K. Rich.* Too well, too well thou tell'st a tale so ill.  
 Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?  
 What is become of Bushy? where is Green?

That they have let the dangerous enemy  
 Measure our confines with such peaceful steps?  
 If we prevail, their heads shall pay for it:  
 I warrant they have made peace with Bolingbroke.

*Scroop.* Peace have they made with him indeed, my lord.

*K. Rich.* O villains, vipers, damn'd without redemption!  
 Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man! 130  
 Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart!  
 Three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas!  
 Would they make peace? terrible hell make war  
 Upon their spotted souls for this offence!

*Scroop.* Sweet love, I see, changing his property,  
 Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate:  
 Again uncurse their souls; their peace is made  
 With heads, and not with hands: those whom you curse  
 Have felt the worst of death's destroying wound  
 And lie full low, grav'd in the hollow ground. 140

*Aum.* Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?

*Scroop.* Ay, all of them at Bristol lost their heads.

*Aum.* Where is the duke my father with his power?

*K. Rich.* No matter where; of comfort no man speak:  
 Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs;  
 Make dust our paper and with rainy eyes  
 Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.  
 Let's choose executors and talk of wills:  
 And yet not so, for what can we bequeath 150  
 Save our deposed bodies to the ground?  
 Our lands, our lives and all are Bolingbroke's,  
 And nothing can we call our own but death  
 And that small model of the barren earth  
 Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.

For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground  
And tell sad stories of the death of kings:  
How some have been deposed; some slain in war;  
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;  
Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping kill'd;  
All murder'd: for within the hollow crown  
That rounds the mortal temples of a king  
Keeps Death his court, and there the antic sits,  
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,  
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,  
To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks,  
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,  
As if this flesh which walls about our life  
Were brass impregnable, and humour'd thus  
Comes at the last and with a little pin  
Bores through his castle wall, and farewell king!  
Cover your heads and mock not flesh and blood  
With solemn reverence: throw away respect,  
Tradition, form and ceremonious duty,  
For you have but mistook me all this while:  
† I live with bread like you, feel want,  
Taste grief, need friends: subjected thus,  
How can you say to me, I am a king?

*Car.* My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes,  
But presently prevent the ways to wail.

To fear the foe, since fear oppresses strength,  
Gives in your weakness strength unto your foe,  
And so your follies fight against yourself.  
Fear, and be slain; no worse can come to fight:  
And fight and die is death destroying death;  
Where fearing dying pays death servile breath.

*Aum.* My father hath a power; inquire of him,  
And learn to make a body of a limb.

*K. Rich.* Thou chidest me well: proud Bolingbroke, I come  
To change blows with thee for our day of doom.  
This age fit of fear is over-blown;  
An easy task it is to win our own.

Say, Scroop, where lies our uncle with his power?  
Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour.

*Scroop.* Men judge by the complexion of the sky  
The state and inclination of the day:

So may you by my dull and heavy eye,

My tongue hath but a heavier tale to say.

I play the torturer, by small and small

To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken:



Your uncle York is join'd with Bolingbroke, 200  
 And all your northern castles yielded up,  
 And all your southern gentlemen in arms  
 Upon his party.

*K. Rich.* Thou hast said enough.  
 Beshrew thee, cousin, which didst lead me forth  
[To Aumerle.]

Of that sweet way I was in to despair!  
 What say you now? what comfort have we now?  
 By heaven, I'll hate him everlastingly  
 That bids me be of comfort any more.  
 Go to Flint castle: there I'll pine away;  
 A king, woe's slave, shall kingly woe obey. 210  
 That power I have, discharge; and let them go  
 To ear the land that hath some hope to grow,  
 For I have none: let no man speak again  
 To alter this, for counsel is but vain.

*Aum.* My liege, one word.

*K. Rich.* He does me double wrong  
 That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue.  
 Discharge my followers: let them hence away,  
 From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day. [Exeunt.]

SCENE III. *Wales. Before Flint castle.*

*Enter, with drum and colours, BOLINGBROKE, YORK,  
 NORTHUMBERLAND, Attendants, and forces.*

*Boling.* So that by this intelligence we learn  
 The Welshmen are dispersed, and Salisbury  
 Is gone to meet the king, who lately landed  
 With some few private friends upon this coast.

*North.* The news is very fair and good, my lord:  
 Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

*York.* It would beseem the Lord Northumberland  
 To say 'King Richard': alack the heavy day  
 When such a sacred king should hide his head.

*North.* Your grace mistakes; only to be brief,  
 I left I his title out.

*York.* The time hath been, 10  
 Would you have been so brief with him, he would  
 Have been so brief with you, to shorten you,  
 For taking so the head, your whole head's length.

*Boling.* Mistake not, uncle, further than you should.

*York.* Take not, good cousin, further than you should,

Lest you mistake the heavens are o'er our heads.

*Boling.* I know it, uncle, and oppose not myself  
Against their will. But who comes here?

*Enter PERCY.*

Welcome, Harry: what, will not this castle yield?

20

*Percy.* The castle royally is mann'd, my lord,  
Against thy entrance.

*Boling.* Royally!  
Why, it contains no king?

*Percy.* Yes, my good lord,  
It doth contain a king; King Richard lies  
Within the limits of yon lime and stone:  
And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,  
Sir Stephen Scroop, besides a clergyman  
Of holy reverence; who, I cannot learn.

*North.* O, belike it is the Bishop of Carlisle.

30

*Boling.* Noble lords,  
Go to the rude ribs of that ancient castle;  
Through brazen trumpet send the breath of parley  
Into his ruin'd ears, and thus deliver: ✓

Henry Bolingbroke

On both his knees doth kiss King Richard's hand  
And sends allegiance and true faith of heart  
To his most royal person, hither come  
Even at his feet to lay my arms and power,  
Provided that my banishment repeal'd  
And lands restored again be freely granted:  
If not, I'll use the advantage of my power  
And lay the summer's dust with showers of blood  
Rain'd from the wounds of slaughter'd Englishmen:  
The which, how far off from the mind of Bolingbroke  
It is, such crimson tempest should bedrench  
The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's land,  
My stooping duty tenderly shall show.

40

Go, signify as much, while here we march  
Upon the grassy carpet of this plain.

50

Let's march without the noise of threatening drum,  
That from this castle's tatter'd battlements  
Our fair appointments may be well perused.  
Methinks King Richard and myself should meet  
With no less terror than the elements  
Of fire and water, when their thundering shock  
At meeting tears the cloudy cheeks of heaven.  
Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water;

The rage be his, whilst on the earth I rain  
 My waters; on the earth, and not on him.  
 March on, and mark King Richard how he looks.

60

*Parle without, and answer within. Then a flourish. Enter  
 on the walls, KING RICHARD, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE,  
 AUMERLE, SCROOP, and SALISBURY.*

See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,  
 As doth the blushing discontented sun  
 From out the fiery portal of the east,  
 When he perceives the envious clouds are bent  
 To dim his glory and to stain the track  
 Of his bright passage to the occident.

*York.* Yet looks he like a king: behold, his eye,  
 As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth  
 Controlling majesty: alack, alack, for woe,  
 That any harm should stain so fair a show!

70

*K. Rich.* We are amazed; and thus long have we stood  
 To watch the fearful bending of thy knee,  
 Because we thought ourself thy lawful king: [To North.

And if we be, how dare thy joints forget  
 To pay their awful duty to our presence?  
 If we be not, show us the hand of God  
 That hath dismiss'd us from our stewardship;  
 For well we know, no hand of blood and bone  
 Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre,  
 Unless he do profane, steal, or usurp.

80

And though you think that all, as you have done,  
 Have torn their souls by turning them from us,  
 And we are barren and bereft of friends;

Yet know, my master, God omnipotent,  
 Is mustering in his clouds on our behalf  
 Armies of pestilence; and they shall strike  
 Your children yet unborn and unbegot,  
 That lift your vassal hands against my head  
 And threat the glory of my precious crown.

90

Tell Bolingbroke—for yond methinks he stands—  
 That every stride he makes upon my land  
 Is dangerous treason: he is come to open  
 The purple testament of bleeding war;  
 But ere the crown he looks for live in peace,  
 Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons  
 Shall ill become the flower of England's face,  
 Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace

To scarlet indignation and bedew  
Her pastures' grass with faithful English blood.

100

*North.* The king of heaven forbid our lord the king  
Should so with civil and uncivil arms  
Be rush'd upon! Thy thrice noble cousin  
Harry Bolingbroke doth humbly kiss thy hand;  
And by the honourable tomb he swears,  
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones,  
And by the royalties of both your bloods,  
Currents that spring from one most gracious head,  
And by the buried hand of warlike Gaunt,  
And by the worth and honour of himself,  
Comprising all that may be sworn or said,  
His coming hither hath no further scope  
Than for his lineal royalties and to beg  
Enfranchisement immediate on his knees:  
Which on thy royal party granted once,  
His glittering arms he will commend to rust,  
His barbed steeds to stables, and his heart  
To faithful service of your majesty.

110

This swears he, as he is a prince, is just;  
And, as I am a gentleman, I credit him.

120

*K. Rich.* Northumberland, say thus the king returns:  
His noble cousin is right welcome hither;  
And all the number of his fair demands  
Shall be accomplish'd without contradiction:  
With all the gracious utterance thou hast  
Speak to his gentle hearing kind commends.  
We do debase ourselves, cousin, do we not, [*To Aumerle.*  
To look so poorly and to speak so fair?  
Shall we call back Northumberland, and send  
Defiance to the traitor, and so die?

130

*Aum.* No, good my lord; let's fight with gentle words  
Till time lend friends and friends their helpful swords.

*K. Rich.* O God, O God! that e'er this tongue of mine,  
That laid the sentence of dread banishment  
On yon proud man, should take it off again  
With words of sooth! O that I were as great  
As is my grief, or lesser than my name!  
Or that I could forget what I have been,  
Or not remember what I must be now!  
Swell'st thou, proud heart? I'll give thee scope to beat,  
Since foes have scope to beat both thee and me.

140

*Aum.* Northumberland comes back from Bolingbroke.

*K. Rich.* What must the king do now? must he submit?

The king shall do it: must he be deposed?  
 The king shall be contented: must he lose  
 The name of king? o' God's name, let it go:  
 I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,  
 My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,  
 My gay apparel for an almsman's gown,  
 My figured goblets for a dish of wood, 150  
 My sceptre for a palmer's walking-staff,  
 My subjects for a pair of carved saints  
 And my large kingdom for a little grave,  
 A little little grave, an obscure grave;  
 Or I'll be buried in the king's highway,  
 Some way of common trade, where subjects' feet  
 May hourly trample on their sovereign's head;  
 For on my heart they tread now whilst I live;  
 And buried once, why not upon my head?  
 Aumerle, thou weep'st, my tender-hearted cousin! 160  
 We'll make foul weather with despised tears;  
 Our sighs and they shall lodge the summer corn,  
 And make a dearth in this revolting land.  
 Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,  
 And make some pretty match with shedding tears?  
 As thus, to drop them still upon one place,  
 Till they have fretted us a pair of graves  
 Within the earth; and, therein laid,—there lies  
 Two kinsmen digg'd their graves with weeping eyes.  
 Would not this ill do well? Well, well, I see 170  
 I talk but idly, and you laugh at me.  
 Most mighty prince, my Lord Northumberland,  
 What says King Bolingbroke? will his majesty  
 Give Richard leave to live till Richard die?  
 You make a leg, and Bolingbroke says ay.

*North.* My lord, in the base court he doth attend  
 To speak with you; may it please you to come down.

*K. Rich.* Down, down I come; like glistering Phaethon,  
 Wanting the manage of unruly jades.  
 In the base court? Base court, where kings grow base, 180  
 To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.  
 In the base court? Come down? Down, court! down, king!  
 For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.

[*Exeunt from above.*]

*Boling.* What says his majesty?

*North.* Sorrow and grief of heart  
 Makes him speak fondly, like a frantic man;  
 Yet he is come.

*Enter KING RICHARD and his attendants below.*

*Boling.* Stand all apart,  
And show fair duty to his majesty. [*He kneels down.*]  
My gracious lord,—

*K. Rich.* Fair cousin, you debase your princely knee 190  
To make the base earth proud with kissing it:  
Me rather had my heart might feel your love  
Than my unpleased eye see your courtesy.  
Up, cousin, up; your heart is up, I know,  
Thus high at least, although your knee be low.

*Boling.* My gracious lord, I come but for mine own.

*K. Rich.* Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all.

*Boling.* So far be mine, my most redoubted lord,  
As my true service shall deserve your love.

*K. Rich.* Well you deserve: they well deserve to have,  
That know the strong'st and surest way to get. 201  
Uncle, give me your hands: nay, dry your eyes;  
Tears show their love, but want their remedies.

Cousin, I am too young to be your father,  
Though you are old enough to be my heir.  
What you will have, I'll give, and willing too;  
For do we must what force will have us do.  
Set on towards London, cousin, is it so?

*Boling.* Yea, my good lord.

*K. Rich.* Then I must not say no.  
[*Flourish. Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *Langley. The DUKE OF YORK'S garden.*

*Enter the QUEEN and two Ladies.*

*Queen.* What sport shall we devise here in this garden,  
To drive away the heavy thought of care?

*Lady.* Madam, we'll play at bowls.

*Queen.* 'T will make me think the world is full of rubs,  
And that my fortune runs against the bias.

*Lady.* Madam, we'll dance.

*Queen.* My legs can keep no measure in delight,  
When my poor heart no measure keeps in grief:  
Therefore, no dancing, girl; some other sport.

*Lady.* Madam, we'll tell tales.

*Queen.* Of sorrow or of joy?

*Lady.* Of either, madam.

*Queen.* Of neither, girl:  
For if of joy, being altogether wanting,

It doth remember me the more of sorrow ;  
 Or if of grief, being altogether had,  
 It adds more sorrow to my want of joy :  
 For what I have I need not to repeat ;  
 And what I want it boots not to complain.

*Lady.* Madam, I'll sing.

*Queen.* 'Tis well that thou hast cause ;  
 But thou shouldst please me better, wouldst thou weep. 20

*Lady.* I could weep, madam, would it do you good.

*Queen.* And I could sing, would weeping do me good,  
 And never borrow any tear of thee.

*Enter a Gardener, and two Servants.*

But stay, here come the gardeners :  
 Let's step into the shadow of these trees.  
 My wretchedness unto a row of pins,  
 They'll talk of state ; for every one doth so  
 Against a change ; woe is forerun with woe.

*[Queen and Ladies retire.]*

*Gard.* Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks,  
 Which, like unruly children, make their sire 30  
 Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight :  
 Give some supportance to the bending twigs.  
 Go thou, and like an executioner,  
 Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,  
 That look too lofty in our commonwealth :  
 All must be even in our government.  
 You thus employ'd, I will go root away  
 The noisome weeds, which without profit suck  
 The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

*Serv.* Why should we in the compass of a pale 40  
 Keep law and form and due proportion,  
 Showing, as in a model, our firm estate,  
 When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,  
 Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers choked up,  
 Her fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruin'd,  
 Her knots disorder'd and her wholesome herbs  
 Swarming with caterpillars?

*Gard.* Hold thy peace :

He that hath suffer'd this disorder'd spring  
 Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf :  
 The weeds which his broad-spreading leaves did shelter. 50  
 That seem'd in eating him to hold him up,  
 Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke,  
 I mean the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green.



*Serv.* What, are they dead?

*Gard.*

They are; and Bolingbroke  
Hath seized the wasteful king. O, what pity is it  
That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land  
As we this garden! We at time of year  
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,  
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,  
With too much riches it confound itself: 60  
Had he done so to great and growing men,  
They might have lived to bear and he to taste  
Their fruits of duty: superfluous branches  
We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:  
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown,  
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down.

*Serv.* What, think you then the king shall be deposed?

*Gard.* Depress'd he is already, and deposed  
'Tis doubt he will be: letters came last night  
To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's, 70  
That tell black tidings.

*Queen.* O, I am press'd to death through want of speaking!  
[*Coming forward.*]

Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,  
How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing news?  
What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee  
To make a second fall of cursed man?  
Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?  
Darest thou, thou little better thing than earth,  
Divine his downfall? Say, where, when, and how,  
Camest thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch. 80

*Gard.* Pardon me, madam: little joy have I  
To breathe this news; yet what I say is true.  
King Richard, he is in the mighty hold  
Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are weigh'd:  
In your lord's scale is nothing but himself,  
And some few vanities that make him light;  
But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,  
Besides himself, are all the English peers,  
And with that odds he weighs King Richard down.  
Post you to London, and you will find it so; 90  
I speak no more than every one doth know.

*Queen.* Nimble mischance, that art so light of foot,  
Doth not thy embassy belong to me,  
And am I last that knows it? O, thou think'st  
To serve me last, that I may longest keep  
Thy sorrow in my breast. Come, ladies, go,

To meet at London London's king in woe.  
 What, was I born to this, that my sad look  
 Should grace the triumph of great Bolingbroke?  
 Gardener, for telling me these news of woe, 100  
 Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.  
 [Exeunt Queen and Ladies.]

*Gard.* Poor queen! so that thy state might be no worse,  
 I would my skill were subject to thy curse.  
 Here did she fall a tear; here in this place  
 I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace:  
 Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,  
 In the remembrance of a weeping queen. [Exeunt.]

## ACT IV.

SCENE I. *Westminster Hall.*

*Enter, as to the Parliament, BOLINGBROKE, AUMERLE, NORTHUMBERLAND, PERCY, FITZWATER, SURREY, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE, the ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, and another Lord, Herald, Officers, and BAGOT.*

*Boling.* Call forth Bagot.

Now, Bagot, freely speak thy mind;  
 What thou dost know of noble Gloucester's death,  
 Who wrought it with the king, and who perform'd  
 The bloody office of his timeless end.

*Bagot.* Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

*Boling.* Cousin, stand forth, and look upon that man.

*Bagot.* My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue  
 Scorns to unsay what once it hath deliver'd.  
 In that dead time when Gloucester's death was plotted, 10  
 I heard you say, 'Is not my arm of length,  
 That reacheth from the restful English court  
 As far as Calais, to mine uncle's head?'  
 Amongst much other talk, that very time,  
 I heard you say that you hath rather refuse  
 The offer of an hundred thousand crowns  
 Than Bolingbroke's return to England;  
 Adding withal, how blest this land would be  
 In this your cousin's death.

*Aum.*

Princes and noble lords,  
 What answer shall I make to this base man?  
 Shall I so much dishonour my fair stars,

On equal terms to give him chastisement?  
Either I must, or have mine honour soil'd  
With the attainder of his slanderous lips.  
There is my gage, the manual seal of death,  
That marks thee out for hell: I say, thou liest,  
And will maintain what thou hast said is false  
In thy heart-blood, though being all too base  
To stain the temper of my knightly sword.

*Boling.* Bagot, forbear; thou shalt not take it up.

30

*Aum.* Excepting one, I would he were the best  
In all this presence that hath moved me so.

*Fitz.* If that thy valour stand on sympathy,  
There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine:  
By that fair sun which shows me where thou stand'st,  
I heard thee say, and vauntingly thou spakest it,  
That thou wert cause of noble Gloucester's death.  
If thou deny'st it twenty times, thou liest;  
And I will turn thy falsehood to thy heart,  
Where it was forged, with my rapier's point.

40

*Aum.* Thou darest not, coward, live to see that day.

*Fitz.* Now, by my soul, I would it were this hour.

*Aum.* Fitzwater, thou art damn'd to hell for this.

*Percy.* Aumerle, thou liest; his honour is as true  
In this appeal as thou art all unjust;  
And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,  
To prove it on thee to the extremest point  
Of mortal breathing: seize it, if thou darest.

*Aum.* An if I do not, may my hands rot off  
And never brandish more revengeful steel  
Over the glittering helmet of my foe!

50

*Another Lord.* I task the earth to the like, forsworn Aumerle;  
And spur thee on with full as many lies  
As may be holloa'd in thy treacherous ear  
From sun to sun: there is my honour's pawn;  
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.

*Aum.* Who sets me else? by heaven, I'll throw at all:  
I have a thousand spirits in one breast,  
To answer twenty thousand such as you.

*Surrey.* My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember well  
The very time Aumerle and you did talk.

60

*Fitz.* 'Tis very true: you were in presence then;  
And you can witness with me this is true.

*Surrey.* As false, by heaven, as heaven itself is true.

*Fitz.* Surrey, thou liest.

*Surrey.* Dishonourable boy!

That lie shall lie so heavy on my sword,  
 That it shall render vengeance and revenge  
 Till thou the lie-giver and that lie do lie  
 In earth as quiet as thy father's skull:  
 In proof whereof, there is my honour's pawn;  
 Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.

70

*Fitz.* How fondly dost thou spur a forward horse!  
 If I dare eat, or drink, or breathe, or live,  
 I dare meet Surrey in a wilderness,  
 And spit upon him, whilst I say he lies,  
 And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,  
 To tie thee to my strong correction.  
 As I intend to thrive in this new world,  
 Aumerle is guilty of my true appeal:  
 Besides, I heard the banish'd Norfolk say  
 That thou, Aumerle, didst send two of thy men  
 To execute the noble duke at Calais.

80

*Aum.* Some honest Christian trust me with a gage,  
 That Norfolk lies: here do I throw down this,  
 If he may be repeal'd, to try his honour.

*Boling.* These differences shall all rest under gage  
 Till Norfolk be repeal'd: repeal'd he shall be,  
 And, though mine enemy, restored again  
 To all his lands and signories: when he's return'd,  
 Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial.

90

*Car.* That honourable day shall ne'er be seen.  
 Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought  
 For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,  
 Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross  
 Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens;  
 And toil'd with works of war, retired himself  
 To Italy; and there at Venice gave  
 His body to that pleasant country's earth,  
 And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,  
 Under whose colours he had fought so long.

100

*Boling.* Why, bishop, is Norfolk dead?

*Car.* As surely as I live, my lord.

*Boling.* Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom  
 Of good old Abraham! Lords appellants,  
 Your differences shall all rest under gage  
 Till we assign you to your days of trial.

*Enter YORK, attended.*

*York.* Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee  
 From plume-pluck'd Richard; who with willing soul

Adopts thee heir, and his high sceptre yields  
To the possession of thy royal hand:

110

Ascend his throne, descending now from him;  
And long live Henry, fourth of that name!

*Boling.* In God's name, I'll ascend the regal throne.

*Car.* Marry, God forbid!

Worst in this royal presence may I speak,  
Yet best beseeching me to speak the truth.  
Would God that any in this noble presence  
Were enough noble to be upright judge  
Of noble Richard! then true noblesse would  
Learn him forbearance from so foul a wrong.

120

What subject can give sentence on his king?  
And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?  
Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,  
Although apparent guilt be seen in them;  
And shall the figure of God's majesty,  
His captain, steward, deputy-elect,  
Anointed, crowned, planted many years,  
Be judged by subject and inferior breath,  
And he himself not present? O, forfend it, God,  
That in a Christian climate souls refined  
Should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed!  
I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,  
Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.

130

My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,  
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king:  
And if you crown him, let me prophesy:  
The blood of English shall manure the ground,  
And future ages groan for this foul act;  
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,  
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars  
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound;  
Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny  
Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd  
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.  
O, if you raise this house against this house,  
It will the woofullest division prove  
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.  
Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,  
Lest child, child's children, cry against you 'woe!'

140

*North.* Well have you argued, sir; and, for your pains,  
Of capital treason we arrest you here.

151

My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge  
To keep him safely till his day of trial.

May it please you, lords, to grant the commons' suit.

*Boling.* Fetch hither Richard, that in common view  
He may surrender; so we shall proceed  
Without suspicion.

*York.* I will be his conduct.

[*Exit.*

*Boling.* Lords, you that here are under our arrest,  
Procure your sureties for your days of answer.

Little are we beholding to your love, 160  
And little look'd for at your helping hands.

*Re-enter YORK, with RICHARD, and Officers bearing the regalia.*

*K. Rich.* Alack, why am I sent for to a king,  
Before I have shook off the regal thoughts  
Wherewith I reign'd? I hardly yet have learn'd  
To insinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my limbs:  
Give sorrow leave awhile to tutor me  
To this submission. Yet I will remember  
The favours of these men: were they not mine?  
Did they not sometime cry, 'all hail!' to me?  
So Judas did to Christ: but he, in twelve, 170  
Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand, none.  
God save the king! Will no man say amen?  
Am I both priest and clerk? well then, amen.  
God save the king! although I be not he;  
And yet, amen, if heaven do think him me.  
To do what service am I sent for hither?

*York.* To do that office of thine own good will  
Which tired majesty did make thee offer,  
The resignation of thy state and crown  
To Henry Bolingbroke. 180

*K. Rich.* Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize the crown;  
Here cousin;

On this side my hand, and on that side yours.  
Now is this golden crown like a deep well  
That owes two buckets, filling one another,  
The emptier ever dancing in the air,  
The other down, unseen and full of water:  
That bucket down and full of tears am I,  
Drinking my griefs, whilst you mount up on high.

*Boling.* I thought you had been willing to resign. 190

*K. Rich.* My crown I am; but still my griefs are mine:  
You may my glories and my state depose,  
But not my griefs, still am I king of those.

*Boling.* Part of your cares you give me with your crown.

*K. Rich.* Your cares set up do not pluck my cares down.  
My care is loss of care, by old care done;  
Your care is gain of care, by new care won:  
The cares I give I have, though given away;  
They tend the crown, yet still with me they stay.

*Boling.* Are you contented to resign the crown? 200

*K. Rich.* Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be;  
Therefore no no, for I resign to thee.  
Now mark me, how I will undo myself:  
I give this heavy weight from off my head  
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,  
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;  
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,  
With mine own hands I give away my crown,  
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,  
With mine own breath release all duty's rites: 210  
All pomp and majesty I do forswear;  
My manors, rents, revenues I forego;  
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:  
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!  
God keep all vows unbroke that swear to thee.  
Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved,  
And thou with all pleased, that hast all achieved!  
Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,  
And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit!  
God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says, 220  
And send him many years of sunshine days!  
What more remains?

*North.* No more, but that you read  
These accusations and these grievous crimes  
Committed by your person and your followers  
Against the state and profit of this land;  
That, by confessing them, the souls of men  
May deem that you are worthily deposed.

*K. Rich.* Must I do so? and must I ravel out  
My weaved-up folly? gentle Northumberland,  
If thy offences were upon record, 230  
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop  
To read a lecture of them? If thou wouldst,  
There shouldst thou find one heinous article,  
Containing the deposing of a king  
And cracking the strong warrant of an oath,  
Mark'd with a blot, damn'd in the book of heaven:  
Nay, all of you that stand and look upon,



Whilst that my wretchedness doth bait myself,  
 Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands  
 Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates 240  
 Have here deliver'd me to my sour cross,  
 And water cannot wash away your sin.

*North.* My lord, dispatch; read o'er these articles.

*K. Rich.* Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see:  
 And yet salt water blinds them not so much  
 But they can see a sort of traitors here.  
 Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,  
 I find myself a traitor with the rest;  
 For I have given here my soul's consent  
 To undeck the pompous body of a king; 250  
 Made glory base and sovereignty a slave,  
 Proud majesty a subject, state a peasant.

*North.* My lord,—

*K. Rich.* No lord of thine, thou haught insulting man,  
 Nor no man's lord; I have no name, no title,  
 No, not that name was given me at the font,  
 But 't is usurp'd: alack the heavy day,  
 That I have worn so many winters out,  
 And know not now what name to call myself!  
 O that I were a mockery king of snow, 260  
 Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,  
 To melt myself away in water-drops!  
 Good king, great king, and yet not greatly good,  
 An if my word be sterling yet in England,  
 Let it command a mirror hither straight,  
 That it may show me what a face I have,  
 Since it is bankrupt of his majesty.

*Boling.* Go some of you and fetch a looking-glass.

[*Exit an attendant.*]

*North.* Read o'er this paper while the glass doth come.

*K. Rich.* Fiend, thou torment'st me ere I come to hell!

*Boling.* Urge it no more, my Lord Northumberland.

*North.* The commons will not then be satisfied. 272

*K. Rich.* They shall be satisfied: I'll read enough,  
 When I do see the very book indeed  
 Where all my sins are writ, and that's myself.

*Re-enter Attendant, with a glass.*

Give me the glass, and therein will I read.  
 No deeper wrinkles yet? hath sorrow struck  
 So many blows upon this face of mine,

And made no deeper wounds? O flattering glass,  
Like to my followers in prosperity, 280  
Thou dost beguile me! Was this face the face  
That every day under his household roof  
Did keep ten thousand men? was this the face  
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?  
Was this the face that faced so many follies,  
And was at last out-faced by Bolingbroke?  
A brittle glory shineth in this face:  
As brittle as the glory is the face;

[*Dashes the glass against the ground.*]

For there it is, crack'd in a hundred shivers.  
Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport, 290  
How soon my sorrow hath destroy'd my face.

*Boling.* The shadow of your sorrow hath destroy'd  
The shadow of your face.

*K. Rich.* Say that again.  
The shadow of my sorrow! ha! let's see:  
'Tis very true, my grief lies all within;  
And these external manners of laments  
Are merely shadows to the unseen grief  
That swells with silence in the tortured soul;  
There lies the substance: and I thank thee, king,  
For thy great bounty, that not only givest 300  
Me cause to wail but teachest me the way  
How to lament the cause. I'll beg one boon,  
And then be gone and trouble you no more.  
Shall I obtain it?

*Boling.* Name it, fair cousin.

*K. Rich.* 'Fair cousin'? I am greater than a king:  
For when I was a king, my flatterers  
Were then but subjects; being now a subject,  
'I have a king here to my flatterer.  
Being so great, I have no need to beg.

*Boling.* Yet ask.

*K. Rich.* And shall I have? 310

*Boling.* You shall.

*K. Rich.* Then give me leave to go.

*Boling.* Whither?

*K. Rich.* Whither you will, so I were from your sights.

*Boling.* Go, some of you convey him to the Tower.

*K. Rich.* O, good! convey? conveyers are you all,  
That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.

[*Exeunt King Richard, some Lords, and a Guard.*]

*Boling.* On Wednesday next we solemnly set down  
Our coronation: lords, prepare yourselves.

320

[*Exeunt all except the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot  
of Westminster, and Aumerle.*]

*Abbot.* A woeful pageant have we here beheld.

*Car.* The woe's to come; the children yet unborn  
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

*Aum.* You holy clergymen, is there no plot  
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot?

*Abbot.* My lord,  
Before I freely speak my mind herein,  
You shall not only take the sacrament  
To bury mine intents, but also to effect  
Whatever I shall happen to devise.

330

I see your brows are full of discontent,  
Your hearts of sorrow and your eyes of tears.  
Come home with me to supper; and I'll lay  
A plot shall show us all a merry day.

[*Exeunt.*]

## ACT V.

SCENE I. *London. A street leading to the Tower.*

*Enter QUEEN and Ladies.*

*Queen.* This way the king will come; this is the way  
To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower,  
To whose flint bosom my condemned lord  
Is doom'd a prisoner by proud Bolingbroke:  
Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth  
Have any resting for her true king's queen.

*Enter RICHARD and Guard.*

But soft, but see, or rather do not see,  
My fair rose wither: yet look up, behold,  
That you in pity may dissolve to dew,  
And wash him fresh again with true-love tears.  
Ah, thou, the model where old Troy did stand,  
Thou map of honour, thou King Richard's tomb,  
And not King Richard; thou most beauteous inn,  
Why should hard-favour'd grief be lodged in thee,  
When triumph is become an alehouse guest?

10

*K. Rich.* Join not with grief, fair woman, do not so,  
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,  
To think our former state a happy dream;  
From which awaked, the truth of what we are  
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet, 20  
To grim Necessity, and he and I  
Will keep a league till death. Hie thee to France  
And cloister thee in some religious house:  
Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,  
Which our profane hours here have stricken down.

*Queen.* What, is my Richard both in shape and mind  
Transform'd and weaken'd? hath Bolingbroke deposed  
Thine intellect? hath he been in thy heart?  
The lion dying thrusteth forth his paw,  
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage 30  
To be o'erpower'd; and wilt thou, pupil-like,  
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod,  
And fawn on rage with base humility,  
Which art a lion and a king of beasts?

*K. Rich.* A king of beasts, indeed; if aught but beasts,  
I had been still a happy king of men.  
Good sometime queen, prepare thee hence for France:  
Think I am dead and that even here thou takest,  
As from my death-bed, thy last living leave.  
In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire 40  
With good old folks and let them tell thee tales  
Of woeful ages long ago betid;  
And ere thou bid good night, to quit their griefs,  
Tell thou the lamentable tale of me  
And send the hearers weeping to their beds:  
For why, the senseless brands will sympathize  
The heavy accent of thy moving tongue  
And in compassion weep the fire out;  
And some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black,  
For the deposing of a rightful king. 50

*Enter NORTHUMBERLAND and others.*

*North.* My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is changed;  
You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower.  
And, madam, there is order ta'en for you;  
With all swift speed you must away to France.

*K. Rich.* Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal  
The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,  
The time shall not be many hours of age  
More than it is ere foul sin gathering head

Shall break into corruption: thou shalt think,  
 Though he divide the realm and give thee half, 60  
 It is too little, helping him to all;  
 And he shall think that thou, which know'st the way  
 To plant unrightful kings, wilt know again,  
 Being ne'er so little urged, another way  
 To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne.  
 The love of wicked men converts to fear;  
 That fear to hate, and hate turns one or both  
 To worthy danger and deserved death.

*North.* My guilt be on my head, and there an end.  
 Take leave and part; for you must part forthwith. 70

*K. Rich.* Doubly divorced! Bad men, you violate  
 A twofold marriage, 'twixt my crown and me,  
 And then betwixt me and my married wife.  
 Let me unkiss the oath 'twixt thee and me;  
 And yet not so, for with a kiss 't was made.  
 Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,  
 Where shivering cold and sickness pines the clime;  
 My wife to France: from whence, set forth in pomp,  
 She came adorned hither like sweet May,  
 Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day. 80

*Queen.* And must we be divided? must we part?

*K. Rich.* Ay, hand from hand, my love, and heart from heart.

*Queen.* Banish us both and send the king with me.

*North.* That were some love but little policy.

*Queen.* Then whither he goes, thither let me go.

*K. Rich.* So two, together weeping, make one woe.

Weep thou for me in France, I for thee here;  
 Better far off than near, be ne'er the near.  
 Go, count thy way with sighs; I mine with groans.

*Queen.* So longest way shall have the longest moans. 90

*K. Rich.* Twice for one step I'll groan, the way being short  
 And piece the way out with a heavy heart.  
 Come, come, in wooing sorrow let's be brief,  
 Since, wedding it, there is such length in grief:  
 One kiss shall stop our mouths, and dumbly part;  
 Thus give I mine, and thus take I thy heart.

*Queen.* Give me mine own again; 't were no good part  
 To take on me to keep and kill thy heart.  
 So, now I have mine own again, be gone,  
 That I may strive to kill it with a groan. 100

*K. Rich.* We make woe wanton with this fond delay:  
 Once more, adieu; the rest let sorrow say. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II. *The Duke of York's palace.**Enter YORK and his DUCHESS.*

*Duch.* My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,  
When weeping made you break the story off,  
Of our two cousins coming into London.

*York.* Where did I leave?

*Duch.* At that sad stop, my lord,  
Where rude misgovern'd hands from windows' tops  
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head.

*York.* Then, as I said, the duke, great Bolingbroke,  
Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed  
Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know,  
With slow but stately pace kept on his course,  
Whilst all tongues cried 'God save thee, Bolingbroke!' 10

You would have thought the very windows spake,  
So many greedy looks of young and old  
Through casements darted their desiring eyes  
Upon his visage, and that all the walls  
With painted imagery had said at once  
'Jesu preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!'  
Whilst he, from the one side to the other turning,  
Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,  
Bespake them thus; 'I thank you, countrymen': 20  
And thus still doing, thus he pass'd along.

*Duch.* Alack, poor Richard! where rode he the whilst?

*York.* As in a theatre, the eyes of men,  
After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,  
Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
Thinking his prattle to be tedious;  
Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes  
Did scowl on gentle Richard; no man cried 'God save him!'  
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home:  
But dust was thrown upon his sacred head; 30  
Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off,  
His face still combating with tears and smiles,  
The badges of his grief and patience,  
That had not God, for some strong purpose, steel'd  
The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted  
And barbarism itself have pitied him.  
But heaven hath a hand in these events,  
To whose high will we bound our calm contents.  
To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now,  
Whose state and honour I for aye allow. 40

*Duch.* Here comes my son Aumerle.

*York.*

Aumerle that was:

But that is lost for being Richard's friend,  
And, madam, you must call him Rutland now:  
I am in parliament pledge for his truth  
And lasting fealty to the new made king.

*. Enter AUMERLE.*

*Duch.* Welcome, my son: who are the violets now  
That strew the green lap of the new come spring?

*Aum.* Madam, I know not, nor I greatly care not:  
God knows I had as lief be none as one.

*York.* Well, bear you well in this new spring of time, 50  
Lest you be cropp'd before you come to prime.  
What news from Oxford? hold those justs and triumphs?

*Aum.* For aught I know, my lord, they do.

*York.* You will be there, I know.

*Aum.* If God prevent not, I purpose so.

*York.* What seal is that, that hangs without thy bosom?  
Yea, look'st thou pale? let me see the writing.

*Aum.* My lord, 't is nothing.

*York.*

No matter, then, who see it:

I will be satisfied; let me see the writing.

*Aum.* I do beseech your grace to pardon me: 60  
It is a matter of small consequence,  
Which for some reasons I would not have seen.

*York.* Which for some reasons, sir, I mean to see.  
I fear, I fear,—

*Duch.*

What should you fear?

'T is nothing but some bond, that he has enter'd into  
For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day.

*York.* Bound to himself! what doth he with a bond  
That he is bound to? Wife, thou art a fool.  
Boy, let me see the writing.

*Aum.* I do beseech you, pardon me; I may not show it.

*York.* I will be satisfied; let me see it, I say. 71

[*He plucks it out of his bosom and reads it.*]

Treason! foul treason! Villain! traitor! slave!

*Duch.* What is the matter, my lord?

*York.* Ho! who is within there?

*Enter a Servant.*

Saddle my horse.

God for his mercy, what treachery is here!

*Duch.* Why, what is it, my lord?



*York.* Give me my boots, I say; saddle my horse.

[*Exit Servant.*]

Now, by mine honour, by my life, by my troth,  
I will appeach the villain.

*Duch.* What is the matter?

*York.* Peace, foolish woman.

80

*Duch.* I will not peace. What is the matter, Aumerle?

*Aum.* Good mother, be content; it is no more  
Than my poor life must answer.

*Duch.* Thy life answer!

*York.* Bring me my boots: I will unto the king.

*Re-enter Servant with boots.*

*Duch.* Strike him, Aumerle. Poor boy, thou art amazed.  
Hence, villain! never more come in my sight.

*York.* Give me my boots, I say.

*Duch.* Why, York, what wilt thou do?

Wilt thou not hide the trespass of thine own?

Have we more sons? or are we like to have?

90

Is not my teeming date drunk up with time?

And wilt thou pluck my fair son from mine age,

And rob me of a happy mother's name?

Is he not like thee? is he not thine own?

*York.* Thou fond mad woman,

Wilt thou conceal this dark conspiracy?

A dozen of them here have ta'en the sacrament,

And interchangeably set down their hands,

To kill the king at Oxford.

*Duch.* He shall be none;

We'll keep him here: then what is that to him?

100

*York.* Away, fond woman! were he twenty times my son,  
I would appeach him.

*Duch.* Hadst thou groan'd for him

As I have done, thou wouldst be more pitiful.

But now I know thy mind; thou dost suspect

That I have been disloyal to thy bed,

And that he is a bastard, not thy son:

Sweet York, sweet husband, be not of that mind:

He is as like thee as a man may be,

Not like to me, or any of my kin,

And yet I love him.

*York.* Make way, unruly woman!

[*Exit.*]

*Duch.* After, Aumerle! mount thee upon his horse,  
Spur post, and get before him to the king,  
And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee. III

I'll not be long behind; though I be old,  
 I doubt not but to ride as fast as York:  
 And never will I rise up from the ground  
 Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away, be gone!

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III. *A royal palace.*

*Enter BOLINGBROKE, PERCY, and other Lords.*

*Boling.* Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son?  
 'Tis full three months since I did see him last:  
 If any plague hang over us, 't is he.  
 I would to God, my lords, he might be found:  
 Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there,  
 For there, they say, he daily doth frequent,  
 With unrestrained loose companions,  
 Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,  
 And beat our watch, and rob our passengers;  
 Which he, young wanton and effeminate boy,  
 Takes on the point of honour to support  
 So dissolute a crew.

10

*Percy.* My lord, some two days since I saw the prince,  
 And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford.

*Boling.* And what said the gallant?

*Percy.* His answer was, he would unto the stews,  
 And from the common'st creature pluck a glove,  
 And wear it as a favour; and with that  
 He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.

*Boling.* As dissolute as desperate; yet through both 20  
 I see some sparks of better hope, which elder years  
 May happily bring forth. But who comes here?

*Enter AUMERLE.*

*Aum.* Where is the king?

*Boling.* What means our cousin, that he stares and looks  
 So wildly?

*Aum.* God save your grace! I do beseech your majesty,  
 To have some conference with your grace alone.

*Boling.* Withdraw yourselves, and leave us here alone.

[*Exeunt Percy and Lords.*]

What is the matter with our cousin now?

*Aum.* For ever may my knees grow to the earth, 30  
 My tongue cleave to my roof within my mouth,  
 Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak.

*Boling.* Intended or committed was this fault?

If on the first, how heinous e'er it be,  
To win thy after-love I pardon thee.

*Aum.* Then give me leave that I may turn the key,  
That no man enter till my tale be done.

*Boling.* Have thy desire.

*York.* [*Within*] My liege, beware: look to thyself;  
Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there. 40

*Boling.* Villain, I'll make thee safe. [*Drawing.*

*Aum.* Stay thy revengeful hand; thou hast no cause to fear.

*York.* [*Within*] Open the door, secure, foolhardy king:  
Shall I for love speak treason to thy face?  
Open the door, or I will break it open.

*Enter YORK.*

*Boling.* What is the matter, uncle? speak;  
Recover breath; tell us how near is danger,  
That we may arm us to encounter it.

*York.* Peruse this writing here, and thou shalt know  
The treason that my haste forbids me show. 50

*Aum.* Remember, as thou read'st, thy promise pass'd:  
I do repent me; read not my name there;  
My heart is not confederate with my hand.

*York.* It was, villain, ere thy hand did set it down.  
I tore it from the traitor's bosom, king;  
Fear, and not love, begets his penitence:  
Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove  
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart.

*Boling.* O heinous, strong and bold conspiracy!  
O loyal father of a treacherous son! 60  
Thou sheer, immaculate and silver fountain,  
From whence this stream through muddy passages  
Hath held his current and defiled himself!  
Thy overflow of good converts to bad,  
And thy abundant goodness shall excuse  
This deadly blot in thy digressing son.

*York.* So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd;  
And he shall spend mine honour with his shame,  
As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.  
Mine honour lives when his dishonour dies, 70  
Or my shamed life in his dishonour lies:  
Thou kill'st me in his life; giving him breath,  
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

*Duch.* [*Within*] What ho, my liege! for God's sake, let  
me in.

*Boling.* What shrill-voiced suppliant makes this eager cry?

*Duch.* A woman, and thy aunt, great king; 'tis I.  
 Speak with me, pity me, open the door:  
 A beggar begs that never begg'd before.

*Boling.* Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing,  
 And now changed to 'The Beggar and the King'. 80  
 My dangerous cousin, let your mother in:  
 I know she is come to pray for your foul sin.

*York.* If thou do pardon, whosoever pray,  
 More sins for this forgiveness prosper may.  
 This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rest sound;  
 This let alone will all the rest confound.

*Enter DUCHESS.*

*Duch.* O king, believe not this hard-hearted man!  
 Love loving not itself none other can.

*York.* Thou frantic woman, what dost thou make here?  
 Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor rear? 90

*Duch.* Sweet York, be patient. Hear me, gentle liege.  
 [Kneels.]

*Boling.* Rise up, good aunt.

*Duch.* Not yet, I thee beseech:  
 For ever will I walk upon my knees,  
 And never see day that the happy sees,  
 Till thou give joy; until thou bid me joy,  
 By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy.

*Aum.* Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee.

*York.* Against them both my true joints bended be.  
 Ill mayst thou thrive, if thou grant any grace!

*Duch.* Pleads he in earnest? look upon his face; 100  
 His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest;  
 His words come from his mouth, ours from our breast:  
 He prays but faintly and would be denied;  
 We pray with heart and soul and all beside:  
 His weary joints would gladly rise, I know;  
 Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they grow:  
 His prayers are full of false hypocrisy;  
 Ours of true zeal and deep integrity.  
 Our prayers do out-pray his; then let them have  
 That mercy which true prayer ought to have. 110

*Boling.* Good aunt, stand up.

*Duch.* Nay, do not say, 'stand up';  
 Say 'pardon' first, and afterwards 'stand up'.  
 An if I were thy nurse, thy tongue to teach,  
 'Pardon' should be the first word of thy speech.  
 I never long'd to hear a word till now;

Say 'pardon', king; let pity teach thee how:  
The word is short, but not so short as sweet;  
No word like 'pardon' for kings' mouths so meet.

*York.* Speak it in French, king; say, 'pardonne moi'.

*Duch.* Dost thou teach pardon pardon to destroy? 120

Ah, my sour husband, my hard-hearted lord,  
That set'st the word itself against the word!  
Speak 'pardon' as 't is current in our land;  
The chopping French we do not understand.  
Thine eye begins to speak; set thy tongue there:  
Or in thy piteous heart plant thou thine ear;  
That hearing how our complaints and prayers do pierce,  
Pity may move thee 'pardon' to rehearse.

*Boling.* Good aunt, stand up.

*Duch.* I do not sue to stand;  
Pardon is all the suit I have in hand. 130

*Boling.* I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.

*Duch.* O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!  
Yet am I sick for fear: speak it again;  
Twice saying 'pardon' doth not pardon twain,  
But makes one pardon strong.

*Boling.* With all my heart  
I pardon him.

*Duch.* A god on earth thou art.

*Boling.* But for our trusty brother-in-law and the abbot,  
With all the rest of that consorted crew,  
Destruction straight shall dog them at the heels.  
Good uncle, help to order several powers 140  
To Oxford, or where'er these traitors are:  
They shall not live within this world, I swear,  
But I will have them, if I once know where.  
Uncle, farewell: and, cousin too, adieu:  
Your mother well hath pray'd, and prove you true.

*Duch.* Come, my old son: I pray God make thee new.

[*Exeunt.*]

#### SCENE IV. *The same.*

*Enter* EXTON *and* Servant.

*Exton.* Didst thou not mark the king, what words he spake,  
'Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear?'  
Was it not so?

*Ser.* These were his very words.

*Exton.* 'Have I no friend?' quoth he: he spake it twice,  
And urged it twice together, did he not?

*Ser.* He did.

*Exton.* And speaking it, he wistly look'd on me;  
As who should say, 'I would thou wert the man  
That would divorce this terror from my heart';  
Meaning the king at Pomfret. Come, let's go:  
I am the king's friend, and will rid his foe.

10  
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V. *Pomfret castle.*

*Enter* KING RICHARD.

*K. Rich.* I have been studying how I may compare  
This prison where I live unto the world:  
And for because the world is populous  
And here is not a creature but myself,  
I cannot do it; yet I'll hammer it out.  
My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,  
My soul the father; and these two beget  
A generation of still-breeding thoughts,  
And these same thoughts people this little world,  
In humours like the people of this world,  
For no thought is contented. The better sort,  
As thoughts of things divine, are intermix'd  
With scruples and do set the word itself  
Against the word:  
As thus, 'Come, little ones', and then again,  
'It is as hard to come as for a camel  
To thread the postern of a small needle's eye'.  
Thoughts tending to ambition, they do plot  
Unlikely wonders; how these vain weak nails  
May tear a passage through the flinty ribs  
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walls,  
And, for they cannot, die in their own pride.  
Thoughts tending to content flatter themselves  
That they are not the first of fortune's slaves,  
Nor shall not be the last; like silly beggars  
Who sitting in the stocks refuge their shame,  
That many have and others must sit there;  
And in this thought they find a kind of ease,  
Bearing their own misfortunes on the back  
Of such as have before endured the like.  
Thus play I in one person many people,  
And none contented: sometimes am I king;  
Then treasons make me wish myself a beggar,  
And so I am: then crushing penury

10

20

30

Persuades me I was better when a king;  
Then I am king'd again: and by and by  
Think that I am unking'd by Bolingbroke,  
And 'straight am nothing: but whate'er I be,  
Nor I nor any man that but man is  
With nothing shall be pleased, till he be eased  
With being nothing. Music do I hear? 40  
Ha, ha! keep time: how sour sweet music is,  
When time is broke and no proportion kept!  
So is it in the music of men's lives.  
And here have I the daintiness of ear  
To check time broke in a disorder'd string;  
But for the concord of my state and time  
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.  
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me;  
For now hath time made me his numbering clock: 50  
My thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they jar  
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch,  
Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,  
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.  
Now sir, the sound that tells what hour it is  
Are clamorous groans, which strike upon my heart,  
Which is the bell: so sighs and tears and groans  
Show minutes, times, and hours: but my time  
Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,  
While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock. 60  
This music mads me; let it sound no more;  
For though it have help madmen to their wits,  
In me it seems it will make wise men mad.  
Yet blessing on his heart that gives it me!  
For 't is a sign of love; and love to Richard  
Is a strange brooch in this all-hating world.

*Enter a Groom of the Stable.*

*Groom.* Hail, royal prince!

*K. Rich.*

Thanks, noble peer;

The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.

What art thou? and how comest thou hither,

Where no man never comes but that sad dog

That brings me food to make misfortune live? 70

*Groom.* I was a poor groom of thy stable, king,  
When thou wert king; who, travelling towards York,  
With much ado at length have gotten leave  
To look upon my sometimes royal master's face.  
O, how it yearn'd my heart when I beheld



In London streets, that coronation-day,  
 When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary,  
 That horse that thou so often hast bestrid,  
 That horse that I so carefully have dress'd! 80

*K. Rich.* Rode he on Barbary? Tell me, gentle friend,  
 How went he under him?

*Groom.* So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground.

*K. Rich.* So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back!  
 That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand;  
 This hand hath made him proud with clapping him.  
 Would he not stumble? would he not fall down,  
 Since pride must have a fall, and break the neck  
 Of that proud man that did usurp his back?  
 Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee, 90  
 Since thou, created to be awed by man,  
 Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;  
 And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,  
 Spurr'd, gall'd and tired by jauncing Bolingbroke.

*Enter Keeper, with a dish.*

*Keeper.* Fellow, give place; here is no longer stay.

*K. Rich.* If thou love me, 't is time thou wert away.

*Groom.* What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say.  
 [Exit.

*Keeper.* My lord, will 't please you to fall to?

*K. Rich.* Taste of it first, as thou art wont to do. 99

*Keeper.* My lord, I dare not: Sir Pierce of Exton, who lately  
 came from the king, commands the contrary.

*K. Rich.* The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee!  
 Patience is stale, and I am weary of it. [Beats the keeper.

*Keeper.* Help, help, help!

*Enter EXTON and Servants, armed.*

*K. Rich.* How now! what means death in this rude assault?  
 Villain, thy own hand yields thy death's instrument.

[Snatching an axe from a Servant and killing him.  
 Go thou, and fill another room in hell.

[He kills another. Then Exton strikes him down.  
 That hand shall burn in never-queenching fire  
 That staggers thus my person. Exton, thy fierce hand 110  
 Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's own land.

Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;  
 Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die. [Dies.

*Exton.* As full of valour as of royal blood:  
 Both have I spill'd; O would the deed were good!

For now the devil, that told me I did well,  
Says that this deed is chronicled in hell.  
This dead king to the living king I'll bear:  
Take hence the rest, and give them burial here. [Exeunt.

## SCENE VI. Windsor castle.

*Flourish.* Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, with other Lords,  
and Attendants.

*Boling.* Kind uncle York, the latest news we hear  
Is that the rebels have consumed with fire  
Our town of Cicester in Gloucestershire;  
But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.

*Enter* NORTHUMBERLAND.

Welcome, my lord: what is the news?

*North.* First, to thy sacred state wish I all happiness.  
The next news is, I have to London sent  
The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and Kent:  
The manner of their taking may appear  
At large discoursed in this paper here. 10

*Boling.* We thank thee, gentle Percy, for thy pains:  
And to thy worth will add right worthy gains.

*Enter* FITZWATER.

*Fitz.* My lord, I have from Oxford sent to London  
The heads of Brocas and Sir Bennet Seely,  
Two of the dangerous consorted traitors  
That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow.

*Boling.* Thy pains, Fitzwater, shall not be forgot;  
Right noble is thy merit, well I wot.

*Enter* PERCY, and the BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

*Percy.* The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,  
With clog of conscience and sour melancholy 20  
Hath yielded up his body to the grave;  
But here is Carlisle living, to abide  
Thy kingly doom and sentence of his pride.

*Boling.* Carlisle, this is your doom:  
Choose out some secret place, some reverend room,  
More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life;  
So as thou livest in peace, die free from strife:  
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,  
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.

*Enter* EXTON, *with persons bearing a coffin.*

*Exton.* Great king, within this coffin I present  
Thy buried fear: herein all breathless lies  
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,  
Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.

*Boling.* Exton, I thank thee not; for thou hast wrought  
A deed of slander with thy fatal hand  
Upon my head and all this famous land.

*Exton.* From your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed.

*Boling.* They love not poison that do poison need,  
Nor do I thee: though I did wish him dead,  
I hate the murderer, love him murdered.

The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,  
But neither my good word nor princely favour:  
With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,  
And never show thy head by day nor light.

Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe,  
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow:  
Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,  
And put on sullen black incontinent:

I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land,  
To wash this blood off from my guilty hand:  
March sadly after; grace my mournings here;  
In weeping after this untimely bier.

[*Exeunt.*]

# NOTES.

## LIST OF PRINCIPAL REFERENCES AND CONTRACTIONS.

- Abbott.....Dr. E. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* (Macmillan).  
 Cl. Pr. edd. . . . The Editors of *Richard II.* in the Clarendon Press Series.  
 Coleridge.....S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures on Shakespeare*, edited by T. Ashe.  
 Dowden.....Professor Dowden's *Shakspeare: His Mind and Art*.  
 Dowden, *Sh...* " " *Shakspeare Primer*.  
*Edw. II.*.....Marlowe's *Edward II.* The references are to Dyce's edition of Marlowe in one volume.  
 E. E. ....Elizabethan English.  
 Kellner.....L. Kellner: *Historical Outlines of English Syntax* (Macmillan).  
 König.....G. König: *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* (Trübner).  
 Kreyssig.....F. Kreyssig: *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare* (2 vols.; Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung).  
 Ludwig.....O. Ludwig: *Shakespearestudien* (Leipzig: Cnobloch).  
 M. E. ....Middle English (about 1100-1500).  
 Md. E. ....Modern English.  
 O. E. ....Old English (Anglo-Saxon).  
 O. H. G. ....Old High German.  
 Ransome.....C. Ransome: *Short Studies of Shakespeare's Plots* (Macmillan).  
 W. ....Welsh.

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

The following notes give some historical particulars of the persons represented, so far as conducive to the comprehension of the play, together with such of Shakespeare's departures from history as appeared to be undesigned.

I. KING RICHARD II. Born in 1367, Richard was just over thirty at the outset of the action. His government had passed through three clearly marked phases. The phase of *tutelage* had been peremptorily terminated by himself in 1389. The phase of constitutional government had closed, in 1397, with the *coup d'état*, which opened the final and fatal phase of despotism. "Richard knew that Gloucester was ready to avail himself of any widespread dissatisfaction, and that he had recently been allying himself with Lancaster against him....He resolved to anticipate the blow....Gloucester was imprisoned at Calais, where he was secretly murdered, as was generally believed by the order of the king....He seems to have believed that Gloucester was plotting to bring him back into the servitude to which he had been subjected by the Commissioners of regency....In 1398, he summoned a packed Parliament to Shrews-

bury, which...delegated all parliamentary power to a committee of twelve lords and six commoners chosen from the king's friends. Richard was thus made an absolute ruler unbound by the necessity of gathering a Parliament again".<sup>1</sup> It was at this Shrewsbury Parliament that Bolingbroke's charge of treason against Norfolk was first publicly brought forward. Its hearing was adjourned to the meeting at Windsor with which the play opens.

2. JOHN OF GAUNT. The imposing personality of Shakespeare's Gaunt is, as has been said, quite unhistorical. His career was now over. Born in 1340 at Ghent, he was in 1398 the eldest surviving son of Edward III. Neither abroad nor at home had his career been glorious. The great victories of the early campaigns belonged to his elder brother and the king: it was reserved for Gaunt to lead the disastrous war of 1373-5 by which almost all that remained of Edward's conquests in France was lost. On his return he assumed the lead of the anti-clerical party, and posed as the protector of Wycliffe. At Richard's accession he held the first place in power, but was generally distrusted; and his unpopularity culminated in the crisis of 1386, which transferred the lead to Gloucester. His disastrous adventure in Spain in the same year still further lowered his prestige. Richard, however, towards the close of his constitutional period openly courted him, and offended public opinion by legitimatizing the illegitimate children of his third wife.

3. EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Duke of York, born 1341, was, after Gaunt's death, the last survivor of Edward III.'s sons. His unambitious character led him, unlike his elder brothers, Gaunt and the Black Prince, to keep aloof from the violent party struggles of his time; nor is there any record of the military feat of which he is made to boast (ii. 4. 100). He died in 1402.

4. HENRY, surnamed BOLINGBROKE, Earl of Derby, Duke of Hereford [spelt frequently Herford in the old copies, and always so pronounced], son of John of Gaunt, by his first wife, Blanche (Chaucer's "Duchesse"). Born in 1366, and thus almost of Richard's age, he had already taken a decisive part, in 1387-8, in the strong measures by which the king was kept in tutelage, being (with Gloucester) one of the five 'lords appellant' who challenged the king's counsellors. At the time of Richard's resistance to Gloucester, however, Hereford was more favourable to the king; nor was his 'appeal' against Mowbray in reality, as it appears in the play, a covert attack upon Richard for Gloucester's murder. The account of the appeal is Shakespeare's most signal departure from history in this play; but as he implicitly follows Holinshed, we cannot regard it as intentional. Hereford, first privately to the king, and then openly before the Shrewsbury Parliament, 30th Jan. 1398, charged Mowbray with having, in a conversation held as they rode from Brentford to London, in the previous December, spoken treason of

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner: *Student's History of England*, i. pp. 282-3.

the king, to the effect that he designed, in spite of the pledges he had given, to ruin the two Dukes. Mowbray did not appear. The matter was referred to the permanent Commission which had just been appointed. Both Hereford and Norfolk appeared before the Commission at Oswestry, Feb. 23, and Norfolk solemnly denied the charge. Thereupon both were arrested, Norfolk being actually confined at Windsor, while Bolingbroke was released on bail; and a court was summoned at Windsor, April 28, to decide the matter. Bolingbroke persisted in his assertion, and Norfolk in his denial; and no witness being available, the king ordered the trial by combat to take place at Coventry, Sep. 16. The sequel as in the play.<sup>1</sup> Bolingbroke's appeal had then nothing to do with the charges of peculation, treasonable plots, and participation in the murder of Gloucester, which Holinshed and Shakespeare put in his mouth. But the legend gives the matter a much finer significance than the true story; since Bolingbroke's charge becomes, in the former version, a subtle first move towards the crown, and thus an admirable opening for the drama of deposition: while, in the latter, it is merely a desperate effort to save himself at Mowbray's expense, and has no relation to the sequel except in so far as it led to his banishment.

5. Duke of AUMERLE. Edward, Duke of Aumerle, Earl of Rutland, was York's eldest (but not his 'only') son. He had long passed as one of Richard's confidants, and was, in 1395, one of the ambassadors who negotiated Richard's marriage to the French princess, Isabella, then eight years old. He was deprived of his ducal title by Henry's first parliament. On York's death, however, he succeeded to the duchy, "and as Duke of York, led the vanguard at Agincourt, Oct. 25, 1415, where he was slain. See *Henry V.* iv. 3. 130; iv. 6". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

6. THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham [written *Moubrey* in the old editions, never trisyllabic, as often in Marlowe's *Edward II.*]. Mowbray, as governor of Calais, received the custody of the Duke of Gloucester, shortly after his sudden arrest in Aug. 1397. The exact nature and the cause of Gloucester's death remain obscure; but it was the universal conviction that he was murdered by Richard's order, and with Mowbray's cognizance. [On his quarrel with BOLINGBROKE, see that article.] The greater severity of Norfolk's punishment was justified in the actual sentence by the declaration that he had confessed to some part of Bolingbroke's charges. Moreover, it appears that other charges were brought against him in the council, including that of embezzlement of public money, which the chronicle makes a part of Bolingbroke's 'appeal'. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was imposed as part of the sentence. He died, Sep. 1399, at Venice, on his return. On a representation in stone, found at Venice, of his Marshal's banner,

<sup>1</sup> Pauli: *Geschichte von England*, iv. 615 f.

the arms of the King of England are combined with those of the House of Lancaster and his own. (Pauli, v. p. 620; based on the *Rolls*; the last detail, on *Archæol. Brit.* xxix. 387.)

7. Duke of SURREY. "Thomas Holland, third earl of Kent, was created duke of Surrey, 29th Sep. 1397. He was degraded to his former title of 'Kent', 3rd Nov. 1399, and joining in the plot against Henry IV. was taken and beheaded by the inhabitants of Cirencester at the beginning of the year 1400." (Cl. Pr. edd.) He is the 'lord Marshal' of i. 1. 204, having been created "for that tourne Marshal of England". (*ib.*)

8. Earl of SALISBURY. "John Montacute, third earl of Salisbury of that surname, son of Sir John de Montacute, one of the heroes of Crecy, succeeded his uncle, one of the original Knights of the Garter." He took part in the plot of 1400 against Henry IV. (v. 6. 8), and was beheaded by the townsmen of Cirencester. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

9. Lord BERKELEY. "Thomas, fifth Baron Berkeley, was summoned to Parliament for the first time on the 16th July, 1381, for the last on 3rd Sep. 1417." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

10. BUSHY, Sir John, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1394, was appointed with Sir H. Green, in 1398, to act with four other commoners and twelve peers, in the Commission above referred to; invested at Shrewsbury with the whole powers of Lords and Commons. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

11. GREEN, Sir Henry, son of Sir Henry Green, justice of the court of Queen's Bench, 1349-50. (See last note.) (Cl. Pr. edd.)

12. BAGOT, Sir William, Sheriff of Leicestershire 6 and 7 Richard II. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

13. Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND. The head of the Percy family, now an old man. He had taken no conspicuous part in the events of Edward III.'s and Richard's reigns; but "had been Earl Marshal in the former reign and at Richard's coronation". He acted as Lord Constable at the Deposition. He was the most powerful of English feudal lords, and his aid was a decisive factor in Bolingbroke's success. His revolt and defeat at Shrewsbury, 1403, belongs to the following play. He himself was not actually present at the battle, and in 1404 was pardoned on promise of submission.

14. HENRY PERCY (Hotspur). Born 1364. He was thus some two years older than Bolingbroke and Richard. But Shakespeare, "both in this play and in *1 Henry IV.* i. 1. 86-90; iii. 2. 103, 112, represents him as much younger, and of the same age as Prince Hal, who was born about 1388". (Cl. Pr. edd.) He was killed at Shrewsbury, 1403.

15. Lord ROSS. "William de Ros, who succeeded his brother as 7th Lord Ross of Hamlake, in 1394. He was made Lord Treasurer under Henry IV., and died in 1414." (Cl. Pr. edd.)



16. Lord WILLOUGHBY. "William, 5th Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, made K.G. by Richard; married the Duchess of York (see below), and died 1409." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

17. Lord FITZWATER. "Walter Fitzwater or Fitzwalter, fifth Baron, was summoned to Parliament from Sep. 12, 1390, to Aug. 25, 1404; died 1407." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

18. Bishop of CARLISLE. "Thomas Merks, who had been a Benedictine monk of Westminster; consecrated bishop in 1397." (Cl. Pr. edd.) Holinshed describes him as "a man both learned, wise, and stoute of stomacke". On the circumstances of his custody, see next note. His pardon and liberation (described in v. 6. 22 f.) took place Nov. 28, 1400. "On Aug. 13, 1404, he was presented by the Abbot of Westminster to the rectory of Todenham in Gloucestershire, and probably died about the end of 1409, as his successor was instituted 13th Jan. 1409-10 per mortem Thomae Merks." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

19. Abbot of WESTMINSTER. Holinshed's account of this Abbot (followed in part by Shakespeare) seems to be defective in two points. William of Colchester, abbot from 1386, did not die in 1400; he was afterwards despatched by Henry to the Council of Constance, and died in 1420. It was he, on the other hand, who actually received the custody of Carlisle, and not the Abbot of St. Albans, as Holinshed states.

20. Sir STEPHEN SCROOP, "of Masham, son and heir of Henry first Baron Scroop, and elder brother of William Earl of Wiltshire. He became famous as a soldier in his father's lifetime, and continued to be called, Sir Stephen even after he had succeeded to his father's barony in 1392." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

21. Sir PIERCE of Exton. He is "supposed to have been a relative of Sir Nicholas Exton, who was one of the Sheriffs of London in 1385 and Lord Mayor in 1386 and 1388". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

22. QUEEN. Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France, born 1388. She had been married to Richard in 1396; and the alliance had led to the prolongation of the truce with her father for a further term of twenty-eight years.

23. Duchess of YORK. The Duchess here presented was not the mother of Aumerle (the first Duchess, who died 1394), but York's second wife, Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas Earl of Kent, son of Joan Plantagenet who afterwards became the wife of the Black Prince and mother of Richard II. The Duchess was thus Richard's niece by birth and his aunt by marriage. After York's death she was thrice married. (Cl. Pr. edd.) The Duke of Exeter mentioned in ii. 1. 281, and alluded to in v. 3. 137 (when he had been degraded to his title of Earl of Huntingdon), was also a Holland, son of Joan Plantagenet.

24. Duchess of GLOUCESTER. Eleanor Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Northampton. Her sister Mary was Bolingbroke's wife. She is said by Holinshed to have died in 1399, "through sorrow as was thought, which she conceyued for the losse of hir sonne and hayre the Lorde Humfrey". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

### ACT I.—[The Banishment.]

Act I. Sc. 1.—The *opening scene* of a play has two functions: (1) to start the action, (2) to disclose the information necessary for understanding it. Successfully to combine them is a mark of the accomplished dramatist. The classical drama mostly preferred to make the situation clear at the outset, either by a preliminary Monologue or Dialogue antecedent to the action, or by a 'Prologue', which at the same time commonly gave an outline of the Plot. In the early Elizabethan drama the situation was often explained by a 'Chorus' (Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*), or the plot foreshadowed in a dumb-show, or the principal person delivered a statement of his designs at the outset,—a method still retained in *Richard III.* Shakespeare's opening scenes commonly effect his purpose more artistically and in an immense variety of ways. Rarely, we find the scene fulfilling *one* of the two functions almost alone. Thus, (1) *Tempest*: the wreck starts the action but gives almost no information; or (2) *Cymbeline*: the 'Two Gentlemen' give us information while the action waits. It is notable that both belong to Shakespeare's last period, of 'lordly licence'. But both functions may be combined in various ways. Thus (3) the scene may *symbolize* the main action, and thus strike the key-note to the play, as in *Romeo and Juliet* (the quarrel of the Capulet and Montague servants) or in *Julius Cæsar* ('the attachment of the people to the newest war chief, and the jealousy of the nobles'); or in *Macbeth* (the witch 'equivocators' at work); or (4) the main action is commenced, without any preface, and the situation gradually explained by a series of touches, as in most of the English Histories, the King being often the first speaker, as in *King John*, *Henry IV.*, and our play. So in *King Lear* (a scene pronounced by Goethe irrational ('*absurd*') for its want of preparation). Note especially the opening scene of *Hamlet*, where the main action is gradually opened, and the information gradually distilled, while the Ghost, like the Witches in *Macbeth*, strikes the key-note. (See Coleridge's note on First Scenes, *Lectures*, p. 346.)

### Act I.—Scene 1.

1-6. "It is interesting to a critical ear to compare these lines, each closing at the tenth syllable, with the rhythmless metre of the verse in *Henry VI.* and *Titus Andronicus*." (Coleridge.) Let the student make the comparison. As it is important that the reader should realize that the modern text does not exactly represent Eliza-

bethan spelling, these six lines are here reproduced literally from the First Quarto—

“Ould John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,  
Hast thou according to thy oath and bande  
Brought hither Henrie Herford thy bolde sonne,  
Here to make good the boistrous late appeale  
Which then our leysure would not let vs heare  
Against the duke of Norfolke, Thomas Moubrey?”

1. Old. For Gaunt's real age see historical note above.

2. band. The word had in E. E. the senses of our *bond* as well as of *band*. Cf. the pun in *Comedy of Errors*, iv. 2. 48—

“Tell me, was he arrested on a band?  
—Not on a band, but on a stronger thing;  
A chain...”

See Glossary.

3. Hereford. On the scansion of this name see note on BOLINGBROKE above.

4. appeal, a formal challenge, based upon a criminal charge which the accuser was bound to ‘make good’ at an appointed time and place, both parties giving security for their appearance. In this case Gaunt has become surety for his son. The abuse of this institution was one of Richard's expedients for raising money. Holinshed relates that in the last years of the reign, “many of the king's people were through spite, envy, and malice accused, apprehended, and put in prison ... and might not otherwise be delivered, except they could justify themselves by combat and fighting in the lists against the accusers hand to hand”.

5. Not the historical ground. See note on Bolingbroke above.

9. on, on the ground of. This sense of *on*, springing from the temporal sense ‘immediately after’, is practically obsolete in Md. E., but common in Shakespeare; cf. “a thing to thank God on”, *1 Henry IV.* iii. 3. 134.

12. sift...argument. To ‘sift’ a man, in Shakespeare's usage, is to discover his true motives or designs by dexterous questioning. So, the king speaks of ‘sifting’ Hamlet, *i.e.* finding the ground of his ‘madness’ (*Hamlet*, ii. 2. 58).

argument, subject. See Glossary.

13. apparent, evident.

15. face to face and frowning brow to brow. Note the picturesque detail, and how it is thrown into the most prominent position in the sentence, even at some cost to clearness of meaning.

18. High-stomach'd. *Stomach* is used by Shakespeare both for ‘appetite’ in general, and especially of ‘appetite for battle’,

'warlike spirit'. Cf. Antony's taunt to Brutus and Cassius, *Julius Cæsar*, v. 1. 66—

"If you dare fight to day, come to the field,  
If not, when you have stomachs".

20. For the verse, see Prosody, III. § 3 (i).

22. *other's*. *Other* is now (1) singular only when defined as such by some other word (as *an*, *the*, *some*, &c.); (2) plural, only when used attributively ('other men'); otherwise *others*. In E. E. it was both singular and plural without either limitation, as in O. E. Cf. *du æfter ððrum* = 'one after (an) other'.—Note the extravagance of Mowbray's wish, the sober plainness of Bolingbroke's. Similarly, the excited vehemence of his invective (lines 57 f.) and Bolingbroke's measured scorn (lines 30 f.). See note to lines 25–61.

24. *Add...crown*, add the title of immortality to that of kingship. This use of the adjective is very common in E. E.; cf. "their sterile curse" = curse of sterility, *Julius Cæsar*, i. 2. 9; "aged contusions" = contusions of age, *2 Henry VI.* v. 3. 3. Kellner, § 252.

25–61. BOLINGBROKE'S OPENING STATEMENT AND MOWBRAY'S REPLY. Note Bolingbroke's quiet confidence and Mowbray's excited vehemence. Bolingbroke, though throughout respectful to the king, relies essentially upon the confidence of the people which he knows that he possesses; the unpopular Mowbray, on the other hand, is forced to rely on Richard's protection, which his very complicity in the death of Gloucester renders the more precarious. Hence his eager and confused attempts to conciliate him.

26. *by the cause you come*. This colloquial omission of the preposition is only found where it can be easily supplied. Cf. "To die upon the bed my father died", *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. 465. *Come* also stands for 'come for' in "let me go with that I came", *Much Ado*, v. 2. 48.

27. *appeal...of*. The original sense of 'of' is 'from, out of'; hence it points out the (1) *source* of an action, and so (2) its *special occasion* or *object*. Cf. 'accuse of', 'acquit of'.

28–9. *object against*. 'Objection' and 'object' in E. E. commonly refer to a direct, and often as here a *criminal*, charge.

32. *Tendering*, holding tender. See Glossary. The verb also meant, as now, to stretch forth, offer (L. *tendere*, F. *tendre*), and Shakespeare is fond of punning on the two senses, as in *Hamlet*, i. 3. 107, "Tender yourself more dearly".

33. *other misbegotten hate*, base personal animosity distinguished from the noble hatred which a devoted subject necessarily feels for a traitor.

36. *greeting*. The original meaning of the word is probably 'to address, accost,' hence it may be used of either *friendly* or *hostile*

speech. The latter is rarer, but is very old; it is found in O. H. G. and O. E. (e.g. *grêdeð grame flondas*, "he shall speak to his fierce foes", Psalm cxvi.); cf. *Henry V.* iii. 5. 37, "greet England with our sharp defiance".

37. *I.e.* 'I shall either be victorious, and thus prove my accusation, or be slain, and answer for its justice before God'.

40. Too good, *i.e.* by the inherited quality of rank. See note to lines 41-2.

41-2. A couplet of lyrical turn characteristic of the young Shakespeare. The thought resembles the saying *corruptio optimi pessima*, 'the greater the excellence, the more ruinous its decay'; but Mowbray's rank is regarded as a permanent *ground*, which his treason disfigures, but cannot destroy.

41-6. Coleridge has noted that "the rhymes in the last six lines well express the preconcertedness of Bolingbroke's scheme, so beautifully contrasted with the vehemence and sincere irritation of Mowbray".

43. note, stigma, brand. At Rome the *nota* was the technical term for the official and public reprehensions of private persons by the Censor.

The *aggravation* consists merely in the repetition of the term *traitor*; the emphasis is therefore upon *once more*.

44. stuff I thy throat, a variation of the metaphor by which a man is said to *swallow* an insult.

46. right drawn, a somewhat harsh elliptical phrase for 'drawn in the right'.

47. accuse my zeal, *i.e.* cause me to be accused of want of zeal.

48. trial; the associations of the *trial by combat* still clung to this word; the combat of 'two eager tongues' which settles a women's quarrel is compared to the judicial battle of male disputants.

49. eager, sharp, biting. See Glossary.

58. Note the perturbation of mind which is marked by Mowbray's sudden change of procedure here. He began by pleading that the royal blood of Bolingbroke prohibited him from retorting the accusation of treason; now, he professes to speak as if Bolingbroke were not royal, yet still does not venture to call him 'traitor', only 'coward' and 'villain'.—Compare *1 Henry IV.* iii. 3. 138 (the Hostess to Falstaff), "setting thy knighthood aside, thou art a knave to call me so".

61. Note how the suspense is kept up by the vagueness of the terms applied by Bolingbroke and Mowbray to each other.

63. tied, obliged, bound.

65. inhabitable, uninhabitable. But 'inhabit' and 'uninhabitable' (*Tempest*, ii. 1. 37) were used by Shakespeare in their modern

senses. The ambiguity of the word drove it out of use, while 'habitable' is retained.

69. Bolingbroke here throws down his glove or gauntlet.

70. Note the concealed irony with which Bolingbroke thus detaches himself from the 'kindred of the king', whom he is presently to dethrone; and the cunning with which Mowbray in his reply (line 78) indirectly appeals to the king, in swearing by the sword which knighted him.

74. mine honour's pawn, *i.e.* the 'gage' of v. 69.

77. Bolingbroke with careless insolence declares himself ready to prove in arms that any insulting charge that Mowbray can suggest is true of him.

80-1. I'll answer thee...trial, I will answer the charge to any extent within the limits of fairness, *i.e.* of what the code of chivalry authorizes in proposals of trial by combat.

83. unjustly fight, *i.e.* if my assertion of innocence is false.

85. inherit, as commonly = 'possess', and like it may have as object either *the thing possessed*, or, as here, *the person put in possession* of a thing. See Glossary.

87-108. Here at length the basis of the quarrel is disclosed. Bolingbroke indicts Mowbray on three separate charges. The first two are referred to in matter-of-fact language and rapidly dismissed, while the speaker kindles into passion as he describes the third, in which the true culprit is Richard himself. The terrible words "which blood", &c., foreshadow the vengeance about to be taken upon that blood-guilt. Richard visibly quails (v. 109), and in his dignified profession of impartiality (115-123) cannot quite conceal his resentment. Yet the story of Gloucester's murder is throughout the play only *hinted at*, never told. "The *guilt* is, as usual in Shakespeare, faintly sketched in comparison with its *punishment*." (Ludwig, p. 39.) On the departure from history here see above, note to BOLINGBROKE.

88. The noble was = 20 groats, or 6s. 8d.

89. lendings, *i.e.* money intrusted to him in order to be disbursed to the army.

97. head and spring, synonymous expressions for origin. Cf. 'fountain-head'. For the combination cf. Langland, *Piers Plowman*, Passus i. 162, "in þe herte þere is þe heuede and þe heige welle"—*i.e.* in the heart is the head and spring [of love].

99. The line is introduced for the sake of the antithesis *bad...good*, and expands the simple phrase.

maintain; 'I will so maintain as to,' &c.

100. Thomas of Woodstock, sixth (or seventh) son of Edward III., died Sept. 1397. See MOWBRAY, above.

101. Suggest, prompt, incite; generally in a bad sense, and used either of the person incited or as in Md. E. of that which he is incited to do. See Glossary.

102. consequently, in Shakespeare rather of what follows in time than of what is inferred.

105. tongueless, as not having articulate speech, only voice, resonance.

109. pitch, height; a technical term in falconry for the height to which the falcon soars before it stoops upon its prey. (Nares.)

113. 'This reproach to his (Bolingbroke's) kindred, and therefore to the king.' A further appeal to Richard to wipe out the reproach.

117. "Note...the affected depreciation of this verse." (Coleridge.) A more extreme instance of this is Hamlet's bitter apostrophe to his mother: "You are the queen, your husband's brother's wife", *Hamlet*, iii. 4. 15.

118. my sceptre's awe, the fear felt for, and so inspired by, my sceptre. The objective genitive with *fear*, *awe*, was very common from O. E. onwards, and was not obsolete in the 16th century. In O. E. we have e.g. "pines yres egesa", Psalm lxxxvii. 16, 'the fear of thy wrath'. So even in *Gorboduc* (1563), "with aged fathers awe" = 'with awe of aged father'.

119. neighbour. Adjectives are freely used as nouns in Elizabethan syntax. Cf. Kellner, § 236.

120-21. Note how the dignity of this statement is enhanced by the repetition of parallel terms, nor partialize—unstooping—upright. The rare and pedantic word *partialize* does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare; it is in keeping with the somewhat unreal magniloquence of this speech.

124-151. Mowbray's reply answers conclusively the first of Bolingbroke's charges, properly ignores the second, briefly and ambiguously denies the third and most essential, and pleads guilty only to a single treacherous design which the subject of it has already condoned. On Shakespeare's divergence from Holinshed here see Introduction, § 9.

124-5. as low as to thy heart...thou liest, a heightened variation on the common formula 'thou liest in thy throat'. Cf. line 44.

126. receipt, the sum received (L. *receptum*), not as now the form certifying it as received. So *conceit* meant in E. E. (see Glossary) the thing conceived, 'notion', 'idea'. The *p* was introduced in the 16th century to indicate the etymology.

130. dear, large. Mowbray had escorted Richard's second queen, daughter of Charles VI. of France, on her marriage in 1396. The



word *dear* is regularly used in E. E. for what is *extreme of its kind*. "My dearest foe" = 'my most hostile (*i.e.* bitterest) foe'.

132-4. Mowbray admits only negligence; meaning to imply, probably, that, as governor of Calais, where Gloucester was confined, he had guarded his prisoner with insufficient care, leaving it to be inferred that he would have prevented the murder had he been able. This defence covers Mowbray only by exposing Richard; for the further question becomes inevitable, 'Who, then, ordered his death?' This Richard feels: hence his eagerness, shown in the next speech, to end the quarrel by whatever means.

140. exactly, formally, explicitly, in set terms: see Glossary.

144. recreant and...degenerate, false to his Christian faith and to his noble rank.

146. interchangeably, regularly used by Shakespeare in the sense of 'mutually', as at v. 2. 98 of this play, the termination *-able*, *-ably* being loosely treated.

Here the word is still more loosely used, as if the subject of 'hurl' were both combatants instead of Mowbray alone: the inexactness marks his excited vehemence.

152-9. Richard's motive in thus cutting short the discussion has been noticed. Note the characteristic levity of tone with which he urges the disputants to 'forget and forgive' insults which the ethical code of the time absolutely forbade them to condone. With all his instinct for outward dignity, Richard hardly comprehends the chivalrous sense of *honour*. His action here prepares us for the crisis of scene 3.

153. purge this choler, remove this wrath from the system. *Choler* was attributed to an excess of bile (Gr. *χολος*), one of the four 'humours' or essential fluids of the body (bile, black-bile, phlegm, and blood). It was thus relieved when the excess was drawn off by medical remedies. So Hamlet, when Guildenstern informs him that the king is 'distempered with choler', retorts: "Your wisdom should show itself more richer to signify this to his doctor; for, for me to put him to his purgation would perhaps plunge him into far more choler", *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 316.

157. "It was customary with our fathers to be bled periodically, in spring and in autumn." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

160. make-peace. This word, not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, belongs to a colloquial and energetic type of compound (*imperative* and *object*) which first occurs in English after the Conquest, and was probably stimulated by the influence of French, where it is particularly frequent: cf. 'curfew' (*couvre-feu*), 'kerchief' (*couvre-chef*), 'turnkey', 'lickspit', &c.; and in the proper names *Taille-fer* *Taille-bout* (Talbot), *Shake-speare*.

160. shall, must needs; the original force of the word ('is due') being applied to a proposition which is bound to be true, not as in Md. E. *you shall*, &c., to an act which 'you' are bound to perform.

163. Gaunt is prone to epigram and verbal witticism even in his gravest moods. Cf. i. 2. 3-4; 3. 80; ii. 1. 31-2, 73 f., 86-7; 106-7; 112, 135, and (his very last words) 138. See note to ii. 1. 84.

164. no boot, no help.

166. Observe that **command** is used in slightly different shades of meaning with *life* and *shame*. [Distinguish these.]

168. An inversion due to rhyme: 'my fair name which will survive my death'.

170. **impeach'd and baffled**. Both terms carry further the suggestion of the preceding word: the first referring to the 'disgrace' of *apparently deserved reproach*; the second, a still more humiliating term, to that of being *treated as a coward*. 'Baffling' was originally a North-country term for hanging a recreant knight by the heels. Note that *impeach* in E. E. is used (1) of other than judicial accusation, (2) especially where the accusation is regarded by the speaker as either just or plausible, e.g. "You do impeach your modesty too much, to leave the city", *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 214. Cf. line 189; and see Glossary.

172. **The which**. Notice the freedom of E. E. in making a relative refer not to any specific antecedent but to the whole *situation* described in the words which precede it.

174. lions, &c. Cf. Marlowe, *Edward II.*, ed. Dyce, p. 198, "Shall the crowing of these cockerels affright a lion? Edward, unfold thy paws, &c.," where the cockerels are his rebellious barons.

180-1. Mowbray here unconsciously shifts his ground, identifying 'boldness' of spirit and 'spotless reputation for boldness'. But the ethical code of chivalry regarded both as involved in knightly honour.

186. Richard's kingliness of speech cannot disguise his boyish inability to control strong wills. His command ("give me his gage") has not been obeyed, the 'leopard' is not yet 'tame'; but perhaps the other combatant will be more compliant; he will try. Note the greater deference for Bolingbroke implied in the form of command.

187-195. Contrast Mowbray's pleading entreaty with Bolingbroke's peremptory refusal. The latter disdains to argue; he opposes to the king's command no plausible generalities (such as lines 177-181), merely his own invincible repugnance.

190. **out-dared**. The prefix (cf. 'out-pray', v. 3. 109) *out-* before verbs in E. E. fluctuates between two shades of meaning both found in the simple *out*; viz. (1) *outside, beyond*, (2) *to an end, to ruin* (e.g. 'burn out'). Hence these compound verbs may mean (1) *to excel in*, (2) *to defeat or destroy by*, the action of the simple verb.

For (1) (the commoner sense) cf. to 'out-herod' (*i.e.* to rant more than Herod rants), 'out-sweeten' ("the leaf of eglantine... Out-sweetened not thy breath", *Cymbeline*, iv. 224), 'outlive', 'out-grow', &c.; for (2) 'to outlook (conquest)', *King John*, v. 2. 115, 'outface' (put out of countenance), 'outfrown' (frown down), &c. Shakespeare's use of *outdare* is coloured by both senses; by (1) in *Coriolanus*, i. 4. 53, "outdares his senseless sword"; by (2) here, the word *dastard* showing that Bolingbroke means to represent Mowbray as not merely 'excelled in daring' but *dared down, cowed*.

191. feeble wrong, an injury implying feebleness in the man who submits to it. The exact point of this in itself obscure phrase, is brought out by the following 'base'... 'slavish'. It is characteristic of the boldness and freedom of Elizabethan style to make the entire sentence the clue to the exact meaning of each part.

192. sound a parle, *i.e.* make overtures of peace.

193. the slavish...fear, *i.e.* the tongue, which in submitting would become the *instrument* of recanting fear.

motive in E. E. = that by which anything is moved; hence (1) as now, an *impulse* which moves the will; (2) the *instrument* of any other action.

194. in his high disgrace, *i.e.* the tongue's, ignominiously punished as it is.

196-205. Note that this speech is (1) *unhistorical* (the ground of the resort to combat having been the absence of independent evidence); but (2) even more *characteristic* of Richard than history itself, in its combination of arrogance and weakness, of outward dignity and inner want of stamina. As in line 186, he accepts his defeat with an imposing air of controlling the issue which deceives no one. In studying the close of a Shakespearian *scene* the reader should bear in mind, once for all, that "a drama of Shakespeare is a continual preparation for the catastrophe, and thus each scene has its own minor catastrophe towards which the preceding dialogue leads up". (Ludwig.)

202. atone, as usual, 'bring together', 'cause to agree'.

202-3. we shall see, &c. 'We are resolved to see Justice point out the winner in the combat-at-arms,' *i.e.* to see a fight in which whoever wins will justly win. 'Justice' is conceived as the marshal who announces the victor,—a figurative way of saying that the victor has the sanction of justice.

204. Shakespeare probably wrote *marshal*, not 'lord marshal', thus producing a regular verse. This is confirmed by the fact that nowhere else in Shakespeare does a king address a marshal by the title *lord*. The term denoted two distinct functionaries, (1) the presiding officer of a tournament or combat (usually two syllables; a trisyllable in 1 *Henry IV.* iv. 4. 2), (2) the general-in-chief of France (always three syllables = *maréchal*). Abbott's suggestion (§ 489) that it is a monosyllable here is untenable.

## Scene 2.

This scene is essentially Shakespeare's invention. He found in Holinshed merely the fact that Gaunt was convinced of Richard's participation in Gloucester's murder. The scene serves three distinct purposes. (1) Interposed between the two phases of the quarrel of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, it covers the intervening time and, in part, the change of place; (in part only, because Gaunt, who appears in this scene, is found in the beginning of the next at Coventry). (2) It supplies *contrast*,—the stately and ceremonious passions of chivalry (scenes 1 and 3) being interrupted by this picture of a woman's intimate and heart-felt grief. (3) It forces into prominence as an undoubted fact Richard's participation in the death of Gloucester, thus giving the key to Bolingbroke's conduct in this first act, and foreshadowing the Nemesis of which he is to be the means.

1. 'The fact that Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock) was my brother.'—Gaunt, the embodiment of reverence for the authority of the state, has suffered, with its connivance, a wrong, which he steadily refuses to revenge. Note how this profound loyalty to kingship is one condition of the passion with which he, later, indicts the king.

4. Designedly vague. The king, whose office is to punish the crime, is himself a criminal.

6, 7. *heaven...they*. Shakespeare commonly uses *heaven* as plural.

9-36. The Duchess's appeal becomes gradually more personal and direct, passing from the plea of kinship to that of peril to life and honour—the transition being formed by the impassioned lines (22-5). [Indicate the nature of the transition.] On the last couplet see note to lines 35-6.

9. 'Does the claim made in the name of brotherhood meet, in you, with no keener prompting to carry it out?'

15. This line simply repeats the previous one under a new image, the reference in both cases being to natural death. Four of the seven were at this time dead, besides Gloucester: viz. Edward the Black Prince, William of Hatfield, William of Windsor, and Lionel of Antwerp. (Clar. Pr. edd.) For the thought, compare the closing chorus of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*:—"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight".

23. *self* often, as here, retains its common O. E. use as an adjective = 'same'. It should therefore not be written with a hyphen. For this use of *mould* cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 3. 22, "the honour'd mould wherein this trunk was framed".

28. *model* in E. E. fluctuates between two easily distinguishable senses: (1) the *pattern* or mould; (2) the *image* or *counterpart* made after the pattern (as here).

29. *despair*, i.e. a course only natural to one in despair.

35-6. The Duchess, finding Gaunt unmoved, makes a last desperate effort, by repeating the most purely personal and selfish of her arguments in the bluntest and most prosaic form. Note the sudden drop of style.

37-41. Gaunt repeats in more explicit terms the answer he had already by anticipation given (1-8) to the argument from kinship: the appeal to his fears he loftily ignores.

44. For the verse see Prosody, III. § 3.

46. *cousin*, as usual, covers the modern terms *uncle* and *nephew*, as well as *cousin*. On the Duchess's actual relationship to Hereford see note to Dramatis Personæ, No. 23.

49. *misfortune*, *i.e.* to Mowbray.

*career*, properly a roadway, hence 'a place for horses to run in', and so 'their...running, or full speed therein'. (Cotgrave.) Hence used technically of the *charge* in a tournament or combat.

53. a *caitiff recreant*, a false and cowardly captive (to Bolingbroke). Both words belonged to the technical language of chivalry. See Glossary.

55. With this close compare Constance's "Here I and sorrows sit", *King John*, iii. 1. 73. This portrait of the Duchess is probably earlier than that of Constance, its more elaborate and intense counterpart. Note that both, as helpless widows, appeal—in vain—for redress of a wrong wrought by the king.

58-74. Note the contrast between this speech of hopeless resignation, with its broken movement, its abrupt turns and starts, its half articulate pauses—and the eloquent swing of the verse in her first speech, where she is still eager and hopeful. "One might say that Shakspeare's principal means of producing lifelike, natural and weighty dialogue is *parenthesis*...for there continually intervene between question and answer ..one or more sentences or phrases which are of the nature of parenthesis, though not marked with brackets." (Ludwig.)

58-9. She compares the incessant iteration of grief to the rebound of an elastic ball, where, however, weight, not lightness, causes the rebound. The image loses something of its aptness by the addition of the second line, but she may be thinking of the greater difficulty of checking a heavy body caused by its greater momentum.

66. *Plashy*, "near Dunmow in Essex, where Gloucester had a seat, in virtue of his office as High Constable." (Clar. Pr. edd.)

68. *unfurnish'd walls*, *i.e.* not hung with arras, as was usual.

### Scene 3.

The historical event occurred on Sept. 16, 1398,—five months after the events of scene 1.—The ceremonious splendour of chivalry is here displayed with congenial care. "The soul of Shakespeare,

certainly, was not wanting in a sense of the magnanimity of warriors. The grandiose aspects of war, its magnificent apparelling, he records monumentally enough—the ‘dressing of the lists’, the lion’s heart, its unfaltering haste thither in all the freshness of youth and morning. ‘Not sick although I have to do with death.’ Only with Shakespeare the after-thought is immediate: ‘They come like sacrifices in their trim’. [*Henry IV. i. 118*].” (Pater.)

3. **sprightly and bold.** E.E. uses adj. with great freedom as adv.; but as Shakespeare always elsewhere uses *bold* as the adj. and *boldly* as the adv., we must explain this case by the idiom of the extended suffix (Abbott, § 397).

7-41. Note how in these purely ceremonious speeches the requisite identity of procedure in the case of each champion is preserved, while yet, by a succession of delicate touches, the speeches are rendered literary, and thus prepare for the poetry and passion of the sequel.

18. **God defend.** The verb was current in E. E. in two distinct senses, (1) *guard* (as now), (2) *forbid* (as here), but in the latter sense only when joined with *God* or *heaven*. Both are traceable to the Lat. *defendere*, which in different constructions could mean to *guard* and to *ward off*.

20. **my succeeding issue.** “Norfolk’s issue would be involved in the forfeiture incurred by disloyalty to his king.” (*Camb. Shakespeare*.) This, however, hardly explains how Norfolk can be said to be loyal to his own issue, and the reading of the Folios *his succeeding issue* is probably right. The *my* could easily arise from the two preceding instances of it. It is beside the point that Richard had not then (and in fact never had) issue; the contrary was to be presumed.

30. **depose him** corresponds to ‘swear him’ in the parallel passage (line 10); ‘take his solemn deposition’ (*i.e.* that he appears in a just cause).

46. For *design* used with special reference to the combat cf. i. 81 above.

48-51. An example of that kind of *irony*, familiar in Greek tragedy, in which the speaker innocently uses words which foreshadow an impending destiny. Bolingbroke unconsciously foretells his own and Mowbray’s exile.

55-6. The king’s wish is conveyed with studied but unobtrusive ambiguity. He knows, and knows that Bolingbroke knows, that the latter is attacking him, as Gloucester’s murderer, through Mowbray. Hence the clause ‘as your cause is right’, which bears the covert meaning ‘as far as’. To Mowbray, on the other hand, his parting wish is conspicuously cold and brief. He again betrays the perception which determines his action throughout, that the victory of either would be perilous to him. Note the slightness and formality of Bolingbroke’s farewell to him in line 63.



59 f. Note how, at the close of the preliminary forms, the verse rises without effort into poetry, and yet produces no sense of discrepancy, so skilful has been the procedure described above (note 7-41).

66. cheerly, cheerily.

67-77. The affectionate intimacy between Bolingbroke and his father is finely hinted in this speech, which prepares us for the more detailed portrayal at the close of the scene. Note the grandeur with which Shakespeare conceives the bond of kinship. We have seen that he expressly emphasizes Richard's violation of it, as the head of his offence. Later on, he was to work out the personal tragedy of violated kinship with incomparable power in *King Lear*: in this earlier period of the patriotic Histories he is interested in it rather as affecting the fortunes of his country.

67-8. A reference to the elaborate confectionery which commonly ended a banquet in England, and formed a kind of *tour-de-force* of the cook's skill, not merely in cookery proper but in modelling and carving. The Cl. Pr. edd. compare Bacon's *Life and Letters*, ed. Spedding, iii. 315, note: "Let not this Parliament end, like a Dutch feast, in salt meats, but, like an English feast, in sweet meats".

67. regret. See note on greeting, i. 36 above. The prefix *re-* had, as now, in some cases (1) its proper force (*back, again*); in others the word compounded with it either (2) does not appreciably differ in meaning from the simple word, or (3) differs in a way not directly derivable from the sense of *re-*. Cf. for (1) *re-duce* = to bring back, for (2) the present instance, for (3) *redoubted*. The force of *re-* is naturally as a rule least persistent where the simple verb did not exist in English at all. In line 142 the prefix of *re-greet* has its full force.

72. A picturesque expansion of the image implied in 'high achievement', 'lofty triumph', &c. Mr. Deighton compares *1 Henry IV.* i. 3. 202, "to pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon".

75. waxen coat; the adjective is proleptic; *i.e.* the coat of mail is compared to wax, not because softness is its standing quality, but because it will yield like wax at the touch of the spear-point 'steeled' by the blessings of Gaunt.

76. furbish, one of the words, now only in colloquial use, which Shakespeare could use for high poetry.

John a Gaunt. The unemphatic *of* between two highly stressed syllables easily passes to *o'* or *a*. Cf. "John-a-dreams", *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 595.

77. Even. This word, among the most important and subtle of Elizabethan particles, is often introduced in recurring to an obvious fact (previously referred to, or forming a part of the dramatic situation), which explains a bold or figurative thought just expressed. Cf. with this passage *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 6. 44 (Lorenzo to the



disguised Jessica), "So you are (obscured), *Even* in the lovely garnish of a boy". Also *As You Like It*, ii. 7. 57.

80. redoubled (four syllables). The syllabic / and r (before a vowel forming another syllable) belongs mainly to Shakespeare's youth, and is still commoner in Marlowe. Contrast the scansion of *Macbeth*, i. 2. 28, "*Doubly redoubled* strokes upon the foe".

81. amazing, producing confusion and ruin. The word *maze* in M. E. had often the sense of disaster as well as that of mere disturbance. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, iii. 159, where it is said that Bribery produces '*the mase*' for a poor man by putting him in the power of rich oppressors.

casque, helmet.

84. Bolingbroke invokes his innocence as being, like the help of the saint, the best guarantee of his success. The implied verb upon which 'to thrive' (= for succeeding) depends, is equivalent to 'I rely upon'.

85 f. Mowbray's comparative isolation is here symbolized. He has little leave-taking to do, for no one present is his good friend; and the emotion which glows through his speech is purely personal.

90. uncontroll'd enfranchisement, *i.e.* 'enfranchisement which consists in being uncontrolled'.—Mowbray's enthusiasm makes him tautologous. For this use of an adj. = the genitive of a subst. cf. Kellner, § 252. So, in line 241 below, "a partial slander"; ii. 3. 79, "absent time".

91. Compare Aufidius' eager welcome of the banished Coriolanus: "That I see thee here Thou noble thing! more dances my glad heart... Than when I first my wedded mistress saw Bestride my threshold", *Coriolanus*, iv. 5. 122.

95. jest, in E. E., includes whatever is done in sport, or as a part of a game. So Hamlet ironically reminds the king that the players 'do but poison in jest'. Hence probably Mowbray contrasts the sham-fight with the actual fight before him. For the thought, cf. Hamlet's wondering description of Fortinbras' men who "for a fantasy and trick of fame Go to their graves like beds", *Hamlet*, iv. 4. 61.

118. For the verse see Prosody, II. § 2 (iv). "Well, give her that ring and therewithal," *Two Gentlemen*, iv. 4. 81.

warder, the staff or truncheon borne by the king as presiding over the combat.

122. The 'long flourish' represents the actual two-hours' interval during which the king and his council deliberated, while the two mounted combatants sat motionless face to face. The shortness of the interval of deliberation, contrasted with the elaborate formalities which have just been observed, makes the king's final action more apparently arbitrary, and thus more characteristic.

124 f. Richard's speech bases the sentence he is about to declare upon the plausible ground that the quarrel of two such men involves the risk of civil war; but the picturesque incoherence of his language betrays how little this expresses of his true motive. Cf. especially the luxuriant but quite indistinct imagery of lines 132-7.

125. For originally, and in O.E. almost always, referred to the *cause* or *ground* (=because of); hence, in the case of deliberate action it came later to indicate the *purpose* by which such action is caused. In E.E. it has this latter sense when the future is referred to, the former when the present or the past. Note that since *should* can be either a present (=debet) or a future (viewed from the past), the words *for that...should not* might theoretically mean either *quia non debet esse* or *ne esset*. In E.E., however, *should*=*debet* is comparatively rare, and in connection with *for* or *for that* probably unknown.

127. aspect, accented *aspect*, as usual. See Prosody, II. § 2.

134-7. The virtual subject of line 137 is 'the rousing up of which (peace)' implied in line 134; the disturbance of peace by warlike sounds may banish her from the country; the private feud, permitted its course, may issue in general civil war.

136. grating shock; for the omission of *the* before a phrase otherwise defined (as here by *of—arms*) cf. Abbott, § 89.

140. upon pain of life is only found in Shakespeare here and at line 153, for the common '(up)on pain of death'. The *of* has a different force in the two cases, in the latter 'consisting in', in the former (as often in O.E.) 'concerning', 'affecting'. For a similar difference in point of view cf. the compounds of *feorh* (life) in O.E. with their modern equivalents. Thus *feorh-wund* (lit. 'life-wound')=death-wound; *feorh-bealu* (lit. 'life-evil')=violent death, *feorh-benn* (lit. 'life-wound')=death-wound.

143. stranger, as often, an adj.

150. sly, probably from the notion of a stealthy creeping-forward, at once noiseless and slow. Cf. the use of *stealing* of time, e.g. in the Sexton's song, "But age with his stealing steps," &c., *Hamlet*, v. I. 89. The reading *flye-slow* of the 2nd Folio, corrected in its successors, is only superficially plausible, and cannot be due to Shakespeare.

determinate (see Glossary), set a term or limit to. The whole expression is, strictly, both pleonastic and contradictory, the notion of 'limit' being anticipated in *determinate* and cancelled in *dateless*. The latter word means in Shakespeare 'without time-limit', 'eternal'.

154 f. Contrast this pathetic lament of Mowbray with the curt and self-possessed reply of Bolingbroke (144-7). Not to speak of his harsher sentence, banishment is for the unpopular Mowbray the end of his career; for Bolingbroke it is merely the stepping-stone to

a triumphant return.—The speech is wholly Shakespeare's invention, and indeed reflects a sentiment more natural to the 16th-century than to the 14th, and to a poet than to a noble. At the earlier date English was less likely to be the only tongue familiar to a great English noble than at any subsequent time. This, however, only throws into relief the glowing patriotism which inspired the English histories, of which, it has been well said, 'the true heroine is England'.

156-8. A dearer merit... Have I deserved. Johnson objects to the phrase as tautologous, and proposed a *dearer mode, and, &c.* Coleridge quotes it with the ejaculation: "O, the instinctive propriety of Shakespeare in the choice of words!" The two comments well illustrate the difference between a common-sense apprehension of words, and a poet's sensibility to the atmosphere of association which they carry with them. *Merit* is used in E. E., for a 'thing deserved', 'reward'; and so 'advantage, profit' (Halliwell). It is thus exactly opposed to 'maim'. *Dearer*, as usual, is 'greater in degree'. But for Mowbray to tell the king that he deserved a *greater reward* would have been offensive bluntness. The use of the more complex word *merit*, the exact force of which is only apparent when elicited from the context, conveys the thought less obtrusively.

156-7. so deep... as to be. Here *to be* = 'being', the whole clause being virtually an accusative noun corresponding to *maim*, and *so... as = tam... quam (esse)*—this usage must be carefully distinguished from that in which *as to* introduces a *consequence (ita... ut sit)*—the *to* here marking the *dative*, not the *nom.* or *acc.* of the infinitive.

172. [Explain the force of speechless death.]

174. compassionate. The word, not used elsewhere by Shakespeare of emotion felt for one's own sorrows, has a special significance in the mouth of Richard,—himself of all men the most prone to this 'eloquent self-pity'.

175. Richard, a little elated at the instant obedience of both combatants, attempts—wayward child of impulse as he is—to play the part of the inexorable judge; with what success is apparent at lines 208-12.

176-7. The passionate love of England which underlies Mowbray's former speech, breaks out clear and unrestrained in this lyrical cry. Mowbray is actually withdrawing when the king recalls him.

178-190. Richard's authority has triumphed. "In an excess of confidence he proceeds to exact from [the disputants] a futile and foolish oath—futile because he had no means to enforce its observance, and foolish because it was only calculated to suggest the danger which he wished to avoid." (C. Ransome.)

181. The king relieves them of their allegiance to himself during exile. Technically, it is doubtful whether 'allegiance' was not

suspended in any case by exile: but Shakespeare hardly contemplated this point.

189. The tautologous expressions *advised purpose*, *plot complot* represent the legal style of oaths which Richard on the whole preserves throughout the speech, but characteristically heightens with a touch of poetry at line 187.

190. *state*, used, as often, of the condition of a king, 'majesty'. Cf. iii. 2. 117 and 163 below.

193. The preliminary unfinished phrase intimates (like a flag of truce) that what he is about to say in no way affects their standing enmity, but is not itself hostile in intention.

195. So the dying Talbot (1 *Henry VI.* iv. 7. 21) foresees his own and his dead son's souls in flight: "Two Talbots, winged through the liether sky...shall 'scape mortality," and the dying York (*Henry V.* iv. 6, 11 f.) bids Suffolk 'tarry': "My soul shall keep thine company to heaven; Tarry sweet soul for mine; then fly abreast".

196. The conception of the soul as confined within the body is current in Elizabethan poetry; the precise image varies with the mood or theology of the writer, from that of the 'guest' (Raleigh: "Soul, the body's guest") or the 'tenant' (Shakespeare: *Sonnet* 146, "Poor soul, the centre of my simple earth,...Why so large cost, having so short a lease, Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?") to that of the prisoner (below, iii. 2. 167) or the corpse, as here. Cf. the famous passage in *Merchant of Venice*, v. 63, where the soul is thought of as a harmonious singer, "But while *this muddy vesture of decay* Doth grossly close it in we cannot hear it".

204. Mowbray hints plainly at Bolingbroke's designs. Richard himself shows, in the next scene (i. 4. 20-2), that he also is cognisant of them. Note how the dramatic effectiveness of this first act is enriched by the *double rôles* which both Richard and Bolingbroke play, and which each perceives in the other's case and carefully conceals in his own.

207. Johnson, and Coleridge after him, compare the closing lines of *Paradise Lost*, "The world was all before them," &c.

208 f. See note to line 175. Richard's apparent regard for Gaunt's feelings discloses a new aspect of his character,—his feminine sensitiveness to authority. The grand personality of Gaunt imposes upon him in spite of himself: note how he blanches at Gaunt's rebuke (ii. 11. 18), and blusters to conceal it. Bolingbroke, too, imposes on him: note how, as soon as the two meet on equal terms, Richard not only does not resist, but characteristically capitulates before he is asked—walks open-eyed into the snare which his rival at each step closes irrevocably behind him.

211. The remission of the four years actually occurred some weeks later, when Bolingbroke took leave of the king at Eltham. (Holinshed.)

213-5. "Admirable anticipation!" (Coleridge.) Bolingbroke's sarcasm forces into prominence the contrast between Richard, the man of impulse, and himself the man of will, upon which the whole sequel turned.

214. wanton; a poetic and beautiful word in E. E. (see Glossary); 'luxuriant, wayward, unrestrained'.

220. about, *i.e.* bring their successive seasons round.

224. blindfold death; the state of death, which involves the loss of sight. Shakespeare uses the word only once elsewhere, in "blindfold fury", *Venus and Adonis*, 554.

226 f. "When did the slighted dignity of suffering ever rise up more proudly against the frivolous recklessness of power than in this answer?" (Kreyssig.)

230. 'Efface no wrinkle wrought by time in his course.'

231. 'He will accept your command as valid authority for putting me to death.' Current, a metaphor from *coin*.

233. upon good advice, after due consideration. See Glossary.

234. a party verdict, a decision to which you were a party.

234. That Gaunt actually voted for his son's banishment is a trait admirably invented by Shakespeare in accordance with his own conception of the character, as shown especially by i. 2. 37-41.

236-246. Gaunt utters here that inflexible devotion to the service of the state which gave the sovereigns of the House of Lancaster, in Shakespeare's eyes, their title to reign. The distinction he draws between his political and his personal relations, and his Roman subordination of the latter to the former, had no existence in the mind of Richard, who acted in all things as his momentary impulse prompted. Compare this bitter sacrifice of his son with the lackey-like subserviency of York in betraying Aumerle (v. 3).

236. Gaunt replies characteristically (see note to i. 163) with an epigram, which, as usual with epigrams, gives a somewhat heightened expression to his thought. His condemnation of his son had been 'sweet' only in the sense in which compliance with a painful duty is more satisfactory to a conscientious man than neglect of it: the bitter consequences are now more present to him than that Stoic satisfaction.

241. a partial slander. See note to line 90 above.

243. look'd. This verb in E. E. often = 'be on the watch for', 'expect'. So already in O. E. with *when*, as here, *e.g.* "*ofer lagu lōcað georne, hwonne up cyme swegles leoma*", 'looks over the waters (to see) when the heavenly light shall arise'.

244. to away. *To* with the infinitive often in E. E. introduces a clause describing the circumstance *in* (or *by*) which something

happens; *to* having then its old but now rare locative sense: cf. the German *zu* ('to') with place-names, = Eng. *at*, *in*. So of *time*: cf. 'to-day', &c., and note to ii. 1. 217.

249-50. Aumerle's curt and careless farewell is rendered in a harsh and ill-expressed couplet. At a later time Shakespeare becomes chary of making style dramatically expressive at the cost of the *verse*. He makes his blunt men use prose. Cf. Casca in *Julius Cæsar*.

256-7. prodigal **To breathe**, *i.e.* in breathing; like **strict** to **make away** above.

258. grief in Shakespeare is both the emotion and its outward cause ('grievance'). Gaunt uses the word in the latter sense, his son in the former. Note the pathetic *background* of Gaunt's words, viz. the thought that his own 'grief' is an absence without end.

258-67. This rapid line-for-line debate (*σπριχομυθία*) is in the manner of the wit-tournaments of *Love's Labour's Lost*, though charged with a fulness of emotion quite foreign to that play. Other nearly contemporary examples are *Richard III.* i. 2; iv. 4 (Richard and Anne, Richard and Elizabeth), and *Romeo and Juliet*, iv. 1. 17 (Juliet and Paris). It is a mark of the young Shakespeare, and was probably suggested partly by Seneca, partly by the amœbean contests in Vergil's *Eclogues*, and the *Shepherds Calender*.

260-1. For the thought compare Rosalind's playful description of the various paces of Time (*As You Like It*, iii. 2. 324-350).

262. The motive of this and the two following speeches of Gaunt, viz. that sorrow may be lessened by a resolute use of imagination, was perhaps suggested by Leicester's consolation of Edward II., as a prisoner at Kenilworth (Marlowe, *Edward II.* ed. Dyce, p. 212)—

"Be patient, good my lord, cease to lament;  
Imagine Killingworth Castle were your court,  
And that you lay for pleasure here a space,  
Not of compulsion or necessity".

The plan is characteristic of the old man's glowing imagination, but appeals less to the more matter-of-fact and practical Bolingbroke.

266-7. Gaunt here anticipates the image he uses in ii. 1, "This precious stone set in the silver sea".

269. what a deal of world, 'what a quantity of the earth's surface', 'distance'. The phrase 'a deal', though now branded as a vulgarism, was good colloquial English in the 16th century.

271-4. Bolingbroke compares the long habituation to grief which lies before him, to the apprentice's years of service (*journeyman* properly = one hired by the day), at the end of which he is 'free', *i.e.* at liberty to work for himself.

272. foreign passages, wanderings abroad.

275-6. Wherever the sun shines, the wise man can contentedly dwell. 'Omne solum forti patria est.'

276. wise man, written in Q 1 and Q 2 *wiseman*, indicating that *-man* was pronounced as an enclitic. Cf. 'goodman', 'madman', the proper name *Trueman*, &c., and Bunyan's *Mr. Badman*. In O.E. an adjective regularly had a stronger stress than a noun following it.

277. A variation on the proverbial 'to make a virtue of necessity', used by Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 1. 62.

279-80. Shakespeare gives a similar outbreak to Coriolanus, on the announcement of his banishment: "You common cry of curs, whose breath I hate... I banish you!" *Coriolanus*, iii. 3. 120 f.

282. purchase, acquire. See Glossary.

284. in before a personal or possessive pronoun had a stronger stress in E. E. than now: hence the present line. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, i. 1. 39, "And stay here *in* your court for three years' space"; *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2. 169, "That sleeve is mine that he bears *in* his helm" (Q. on). In O.E. prepositions regularly took the stress from a following pronoun; so still in Md. E. *with me*, *for me*, &c.

288. On metre, see Prosody, I. § 4 (ii).

289. the presence strew'd, the rush-strewn floors still customary in Shakespeare's time. *Presence*, the reception-room or presence-chamber.

291. The measure was technically a grave and stately dance, as in *Much Ado*, ii. 80, "mannerly, modest, like a measure, full of state and ancientry". Shakespeare, however, uses it also more loosely of dancing in general; as in *Twelfth Night*, v. 41, "the triplex is a good tripping measure". But he is probably thinking here of the *measure* proper, as more resembling the slow steps of exile, 'delightful' as it was.

294. fire, as commonly, two syllables (*fīr*), cf. Prosody, I. § 3 (iv) (through the development in early Md. E. of a secondary vowel before *-r*); but there was a growing tendency to treat this and other groups of adjacent vowels as equivalent to one syllable.

299. fantastic corresponds to imagination above; *i.e.* summer's heat that exists only in fancy.

300. Similarly, apprehension is used, as *conceit* often is, of an idea *seized upon* and possessed by the mind, though it have no real basis.

302. rankle, used especially of the irritation produced by poison or inflammation. Bolingbroke hints that the method of healing sorrow by imagining joy is as futile as that of healing a festered wound by avoiding the additional but beneficent pain of the surgeon's lancet.



302-3. This and Gaunt's previous speech are hardly surpassed examples of the light and melodious yet nervous blank verse of Shakespeare's early manhood.

306. England's ground. The *article* or a *defining substantive* is often used before a noun in the vocative in E. E., as in O. E. and M. E., but not in Md. E. Cf. Cordelia's address to her sisters as "The jewels of our father", *Lear*, i. i. 271; Brutus' farewell to Cassius, "The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!" *Julius Cæsar*, v. 3. 99. Cf. Kellner, § 223.

306-9. Bolingbroke's parting speech strikes the key-note of the drama on its historic side. However personal his aims may be, it is with him that the immediate future of England rests. Note the significant contrast between Bolingbroke's farewell to England and Richard's greeting to her upon his return from Ireland (iii. 2). Richard conceives his country as his 'child', to whom he 'does favours with his royal hands', and of whom he expects single-minded loyalty in his service. Bolingbroke conceives it as his 'mother' and 'nurse', to whom he owes what he is, and who will be his boast and glory in exile.

### Scene 4.

"This is a striking conclusion of a first act, letting the reader into the secret;...a new light is thrown on Richard's character. Until now he has appeared in all the beauty of royalty; but here, as soon as he is left to himself, the inherent weakness of his character is immediately shown." (Coleridge.) Richard's 'weakness' had no doubt already betrayed itself by a number of slight traits, in spite of his singular command of kingly dignity. Here, however, the disguise is stripped off, we see him *in undress*, conversing at ease with his intimates and familiars. He now discloses (1) his dislike of Bolingbroke, and insight into his purposes (lines 22 f.); (2) his contempt for the rights of his subjects, high and low—thus preparing us for the national revolt which follows (42-52, 61-2); (3) his cynical indifference to the fate of his own kin (59-60); note the scathing contrast between the relation of nephew and uncle shown here, and that between the son and father at the close of the last scene; (4) his reliance upon unscrupulous and incompetent favourites. Cf. the drastic account given by Bolingbroke as Henry IV. to Prince Hal, whom he scornfully compares to Richard, of the "skipping king" who "ambled up and down with shallow jesters and rash bavin wits", *1 Henry IV.* iii. 2. 60. (See Introduction.)

1. we did observe. Richard with Bagot and Green, have noticed Bolingbroke's behaviour at his departure, as graphically described by the king, lines 20-36.

3. Aumerle's ironical repetition of *high*, and the punning 'high-way' in the next line, warn the reader that Richard also, to whom

these freedoms are plainly not unwelcome, is Bolingbroke's bitter foe.

6. for me, for my part.

13. that, referring to the whole fact just stated,—his disdain to profane the word *farewell*.

14. oppression, passive, of expressing the source of oppression, viz. 'grief so great that', &c.

16. For metre, see Prosody, I. § 2 (ii).

20. doubt, doubtful, an instance of the use of substantive as an adjective, as in *worth* (O. E. *weorð* = value), *cheap* (O. E. *cedp* = barter), &c. Cf. Kellner, § 134-6, and ii. 1. 19 below.

22. friends, 'kinsmen,' a sense still frequent, and probably due to Scandinavian influence; O. N. *frændi* always = kinsman.

23 f. Compare the description afterwards given by Bolingbroke himself (as Henry IV.) of his politic courtesies:

"Men would tell their children 'this is he';  
Others would say, 'Where, which is Bolingbroke?'  
And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,  
And dress'd myself in such humility  
That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts  
Even in the presence of the crowned king."

*1 Henry IV.* iii. 2. 48.

28. craft; a play upon the two related senses of the word, both derived from its O. E. force, 'cunning, dexterity'.

29. underbearing, enduring. Shakespeare's only other use of the word in this sense was nearly contemporary (*King John*, iii. 1. 65).

30. affects, affections. Both words, covering nearly the same range of meanings, were current in E. E.; *affect* became obsolete in the 17th century.

banish<sup>d</sup> their affects, bear their affections into banishment with him.

35-6. 'As if England would fall to him by just title on the death of the present sovereign.'

37. Green shows in a single line his qualifications as a counsellor. It is plain that he encourages Richard's fatal delusion that dangers are got rid of by being put out of sight, and that Bolingbroke, once banished, may be safely forgotten.

40. Subjunctive, 'let them go'.

38. stand out, are in open rebellion.

39. Expedient manage...made, speedy measures of control must be put in force. See Glossary, s.v. *manage*.

43. The reckless extravagance of the royal household, where 10,000 retainers, as Richard afterwards boasts (iv. i. 282), lived at the king's cost, 100 in the kitchen alone, was not the least of the causes of discontent. Cf. the contemporary poem on Richard's deposition—

“For where was ever any Christian king  
That held such an household by the half-deal  
As Richard in this realm, through misrule of others?”

45. “The common brute [rumour] ranne, that the kyng had sette to ferme the realme of England, unto Sir William Scrope Earle of Wiltshire, and then treasurer of Englande, to Sir John Bushy, Syr John Bagot; and Sir Henry Greene, knights.” (Holinshed, quoted by Cl. Pr. edd.)

to farm, *i.e.* to hand over the right of receiving the national revenues in consideration of a present cash payment.

48–50. The king's deputies received blank forms entitling them to demand from——(any person)——(any sum).

50. subscribe, write their names under.

52. presently, as usual, ‘at once’.

54. grievous, the adj. for the adv. Gaunt's death actually occurred on Feb. 3, 1399, more than four months after the meeting at Coventry and two after Bolingbroke's actual departure.

58. Ely House. “The bishop of Ely's palace in Holborn, the site of which is still marked by Ely-place.” (Cl. Pr. edd.) Richard III. is made to recall its pleasant garden and strawberries, *Richard III.* iii. 4. 33.

59. So Marlowe's Edward II. is made to wish that Mortimer and Lancaster “had both carous'd a bowl of poison to each other's health”. (*Edward II.* p. 198, ed. Dyce.)

61. lining, the word was used colloquially of that which forms the whole *contents* of anything hollow, as well as of that which simply covers the inner surface. So especially of money as *lining* a chest; cf. Jaques' description of the justice's “fair round belly with good capon lin'd”, *As You Like It*, ii. 7. 154; and the modern colloquial ‘to line one's nest’.

## Act II.—[The Uprising.]

### Scene I.

The first part of the scene (1–146), wholly Shakespeare's invention, discloses better than any other passage his point of view in writing the English Histories. Note that this part of the scene has no importance in the *structure* of the play; it in no way forwards the action

—even Richard's seizure of Gaunt's property being merely the execution of his resolution already announced (i. 4. 61), not an act of vengeance for his plain-speaking.—A death-scene in some respects similar to this, and nowise inferior in dramatic power, may be found in Ibsen's great historical tragedy *Kongsemnerne* (*The Pretenders*, translated by W. Archer).

1-4. Note the broad yet subtle contrast drawn between the two brothers. Gaunt's loyalty sternly reproves; York's timidly acquiesces or faintly protests. The caustic quasi-parallel between their relations to their sons has been already noted.

5, 6. Oh, but they say, &c. The idea that the approach of death brings prophetic powers belonged to Germanic mythology. So, in the Eddic lay of *Sigurd*, Brynhild delivers a great prophecy after dealing herself the death-blow.

9-12. The rhymed quatrain (Prosody, III. § 4 (iii)) is frequent in the dialogue of *Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*; it always marks, as here, or, as in *King John*, ii. 1. 504 (Bastard), the parody of it, lyrical exaltation. Together with the four following lines these were put in the margin as spurious by Pope.

9. **listen**, like *list*, is quite current with a *direct object* in E. E.

10. **glose**, speak insincerely, falsely; mostly used of flattery. See Glossary.

12. **close** was used as a special term for the harmonious chords which habitually end a piece of music. "Congreeing in a full and natural close like music," *Henry V.* i. 2. 183.

16. **My death's sad tale**, my solemn dying words.

**undeaf**: a bold instance of the E. E. idiom by which any adj. could be treated as a verb. Cf. Abbott, § 290. So, 'unhappied', iii. 1. 10. Here the adj. itself is probably a free coinage of Shakespeare's: he does not use it elsewhere.

17. **other flattering sounds**, i.e. other sounds, viz. flattering ones.

18. The reading of this line is quite uncertain. The First Quarto has, *of whose taste the wise are found*, the second state for *taste*; while the other Quartos and the Folios have *of his state: then there are found*. Collier conjectured *fond* for *found*. The second reading is objectionable as destroying the parallelism between this and the next couplet, each of which in the First Quarto contains a relative clause with *whose*; while the phrase "then there are found" is feeble both in sense and rhythm. The slight change to *fond* in the reading of the First Quarto gives an excellent sense; *are fond of* = dote upon.

19. **venom**; on the use of nouns as adj. see note to i. 4. 20.

21-3. Shakespeare transfers to the fourteenth century what was characteristic of the sixteenth, and makes York anticipate the complaints of Ascham.

23. *imitation*. Does Shakespeare intend a rhyme here?

25. *respect*, a verbal noun, 'the considering', 'having regard': 'if it be only new, no one regards how vile it is'.

26. *buzz* in E. E. refers to one of two kinds of subdued noise now expressed by different words,—*whisper* and *hum*. The latter is preferable here, since it is not suggested that the communications are *secret*, but that they are vain and empty.

28. 'Where will rebels against that which understanding approves.' *Regard* is in E. E. (1) a *look*, but (2) especially a look implying *respect*, *esteem*, *deference*; hence (3) these qualities in themselves. With in its old sense of 'against', on the analogy of 'fight with', &c.

29. [Give an exact paraphrase of this line.]

31-2. *inspired...expiring*; another case of Gaunt's 'nice play' with words where no jest is thought of; cf. i. 1. 163, and ii. 1. 63-4, 84.

33-4. For the thought cf. Friar Lawrence's "These violent desires have violent ends", *Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 6. 9; and the Player-king's "The violence of either grief or joy Their own enactures with themselves destroy", *Hamlet*, iii. 2. 172.

35. Note the effect of the double or cross alliteration (*s—sh—s—sh*) and how the contrast between the continuous showers and the sudden storms is expressed to the ear by the accumulation of *liquids* and *continuous* sounds in the first half of the verse, of *explosives* (*t, d*) in the second.

37-9. The penalties of improvident rashness are described under distinct metaphors, both relating to food;—the suffocation produced by over-hasty *swallowing*, and the starvation due to consuming one's stores too fast.

40-55. This passage seems to have at once become famous, as it might well; it was quoted in the collection of poems called *England's Parnassus*, 1600, but attributed by mistake to Drayton.—Gaunt's eloquence is habitually imaginative rather than argumentative in type: it advances not by developing a thought, but by presenting it in varied series of images. Cf. i. 3. 221-4, 226-32.

41. *earth of majesty*. *Earth* is sometimes used by Shakespeare in the sense of 'country', 'seat', 'domain', almost 'native land'. Just as England is addressed by Richard as 'my earth', so it is said to belong to, to be the proper domain of 'majesty'. So at line 50 below.

44. *infection*, pollution, both moral and physical. Daniel's *Civil Wars*, 1595, contains a couplet (iv. 90) probably suggested by this—

"Neptune keepe out from thy embraced Ile  
This foule contagion of iniquitie". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

49. *envy, malice, enmity, as usual.*

*less happier*; this comparative is a purely momentary anomaly, which never gained vogue. It was doubtless formed on the analogy of *more happier*. Since *more happier* was merely a more emphatic form of *more happy* (-er adding nothing to the meaning), *less happier* could be felt as a more emphatic form of *less happy*.

52. *I.e.* feared as belonging to the 'happy breed'—the gifted race—of Englishmen. Another case of cross-alliteration. This is found in all periods of English poetry, from *Beowulf* (e.g. "siððan þeóðcýning þider oncirde", 'then the chief turned thither') to Tennyson: "His heavy-shotted hammock-shroud", *In Memoriam*. Cf. in Shakespeare also "A little more than kin and less than kind", *Hamlet*, i. 2. 65.

60. *pelting, petty.* See Glossary.

62. A last-century critic proposed to read *surge* for *siege*: and most poets would in fact have written so. But the bold image gives a peculiarly Shakespearian flavour to the phrase.

64. Note the frequency with which Shakespeare uses imagery drawn from *blots* and *stains* in this play, e.g., i. 3. 202; iii. 4. 81; iv. 1. 236, 324-5; v. 3. 66.

70. *raged*, the word gives a feeble sense, but is probably right, and the weakness of the word-play is not uncharacteristic of York (cf. 182-3, 187, 201, 213-4). In this as in weightier matters York faintly reproduces the traits of his great brother.

71-2. The courteous deference of the queen contrasts with Richard's surly bluntness. As his uncle's self-constituted heir (i. 4. 61) he is irritated to find that he has not 'come too late'.

73-84. The bitter word-play of these lines proved a stumbling-block to the somewhat matter-of-fact critics of the last century. Pope put them in the margin. Nineteenth-century criticism has learned to analyse both passion and wit more subtly, and to perceive that the latter may be at times the natural language of the former. "On a death-bed there is a feeling which may make all things appear but as puns and equivocations. And a passion there is that carries off its own excess by plays on words as naturally, and therefore as appropriately to drama, as by gesticulations, looks, or tones. . . . There is a natural, an almost irresistible, tendency in the mind, when immersed in one strong feeling, to connect that feeling with every sight and object around it; especially if there be opposition, and the words addressed to it are in any way repugnant to the feeling itself, as here in the instance of Richard's unkind language." (Coleridge.) Compare the word-play of the frenzied Ajax:

Αἰατ' τίς ἄν ποτ' ᾤεθ' ὧδ' ἐπ' ὀνύμον  
τοῦμόν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς;

('Ay me! who could ever have supposed that my name would thus

become the fit expression of my sorrows?') Soph. *Ajax*, 430 f.; and Frag. 877 (quoted by Campbell in note to this passage), where Odysseus similarly plays upon his name.

Note how Shakespeare himself anticipates, and answers, the objection in lines 84-5.

83. *inherits*. See Glossary.

84. *nicely*, fantastically. The word in E. E. still implies disparagement; it is used especially of idle trifling, giving disproportionate attention to little things.

85. *to...itself*, in (by) mocking itself. For this force of *to* cf. note to i. 3. 244. "Misery amuses itself by self-derision." (Deighton.)

86-7. Gaunt ironically suggests that, as the king has striven to destroy his 'name' by banishing his heir, he himself has but 'flattered' the king by his mocking misuse of it.

94. '(I), ill in myself, who see you, and seeing ill in you.' Gaunt is apparently intended to use the words *I see thee ill* in a double sense, *ill* agreeing with either *I* or *thee*; the first half of the present line explains the former sense, the second half the latter.

102-3. Although the 'flattery' affects directly only Richard's mind, the whole country is involved in its ruinous results.—The use of the term *verge* is felicitous, since this technically described "the compass about the king's court, which extended for twelve miles around" (Cl. Pr. edd.). *Waste* is used in its legal sense of "destruction of houses, wood, or other produce of land, done by the tenant to the prejudice of the freehold" (*ib.*).

108. *possess'd*, seized with a mad impulse.

111. 'Enjoying as your world or domain', cf. line 45.

113-4. By leasing out your country you have assumed towards it the relation of a landlord, not of a king, and have made yourself, like any other landlord, subject to the law which regulates such bargains. It is characteristic that Gaunt does not suggest, as a modern reformer might, that the king had *overridden* the law, but that he had made himself in an unseemly degree subject to its control.

114. *Thy state of law*, your legal status as king. *State* is often used pregnantly for 'the condition of king'; as where Richard is described by Gaunt's son as having "carded his state, mingled his royalty," &c., i *Henry IV.* iii. 2. 62.

115. *lean-witted*. Richard's passion, like Gaunt's, finds vent in word-play; he scornfully adds one other interpretation of his uncle's name.

118. It is characteristic of Richard that he grows pale, in spite of himself, before Gaunt's scathing invective; still more so, that he realizes this change in his complexion; most of all, that he calls



attention to it, and describes it in a picturesque image,—the sudden expulsion from its dwelling of that rich glowing colour which suggested Hotspur's epithet,—‘Richard that sweet lovely rose’. Compare his anxiety in iv. 1. 265 to see the expression of his face after deposition. The historical Richard is shown by his effigy to have been of marked personal beauty.

122. **roundly**, unceremoniously; a characteristic Elizabethan development of the sense of *round* as (1) complete, intact, thence (2) unqualified, unreserved, straightforward.

126–131. Note that Richard, who had rudely interrupted Gaunt's first indictment, is cowed by this more terrible charge, and only when Gaunt is finally borne away to die, flings a sullen curse after him.

126. This legend of the pelican belonged to the store of animal-mythology handed down by the mediæval *Bestiaries* or moralized accounts of animals. It occurs already in the *Ancren Riwle* (c. 1200).

130. **precedent**, ‘instance proving the fact that—’; slightly differing from the modern sense, where the *priority* of the instance in time is more prominent.

134. **crooked**, used primarily of *age*, characteristically suggests to Gaunt the thought of the ‘crooked scythe’ of Time.

141–4. This timid and futile attempt to discount Gaunt's reproof, which York knows to be just, warns the reader, and might have warned the king, how much his fidelity is to be counted upon when fidelity becomes dangerous.

144. **As Harry, &c., i.e.** as he holds his son.

145. Richard takes advantage of the ambiguity of line 144. This couplet is one of those penetrating touches of character-drawing which form the texture of the great tragedies, are scattered at intervals over the early plays, and in the present play occur mainly in the part of Richard. Richard knows that he is guilty; knows, also, Bolingbroke's intentions, but makes no effort to meet impending ruin.

146. **all be as it is**. “There is a sort of fatalism in his words which gives the impression that he can hardly be quite sane.” (Ransome.) Similarly at line 154.

148–50. Northumberland's words involuntarily suggest his attitude to the king. Richard asks, What says he? expecting some apology. Northumberland replies in effect: ‘Nay, his last greeting is that *music* you have just heard’.

148. A line divided between two speakers is more loosely handled than an unbroken line. Abbott, § 506.

149. The image of i. 3. 162 repeated.

152. **death**, the state of being dead, as commonly in Shakespeare.

154. See note to line 145.

156. **rug-headed kerns.** *Kern* is a phonetic rendering of a Gaelic name for 'soldier', and was used in E. E. for the native soldiery of the west of Ireland. In *2 Henry VI.* iii. 367 one of them is also referred to as a 'shag-headed kern'; and Spenser describes them as having borrowed from the Scythians the custom of wearing "long glibbes, which is a thicke curled bush of heare hanging down over theyr eyes, and monstously disguising them". (Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, Globe edition, p. 630: referred to by Cl. Pr. edd.)

157-8. Since all other venomous things had been banished by St. Patrick. The plural 'have', though strictly the predicate of *venom*, is not only justified but almost required by E. E. colloquial grammar, after 'they'.

159. [Explain for.]

ask, require. This is its commonest O. E. meaning: e.g. *feorh æcsian*, 'to demand a life'. So its German cognate *heischen* = demand.

163. "There is scarcely anything in Shakespeare in its degree more admirably drawn than York's character;—his religious loyalty struggling with a deep grief and indignation at the king's follies." (Coleridge.) Observe how differently the protests of the two brothers are provoked. York is kindled by a family wrong, Gaunt by a national disgrace.

167-8. Bolingbroke, on arriving in France, had been well received by the king, Charles VI., whose cousin, the only daughter of the Duc de Berry, he was about to marry, when Richard, hearing of it, sent the Earl of Salisbury to France with a list of imaginary charges against him, and a plain demand that the French king should not ally himself with 'so manifest an offender'.—Note that, as nothing is said of all this in the play, we must suppose that Shakespeare credited his audience with sufficient knowledge to understand the allusion.

173. This line is an example of the construction called *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ*, i.e. in which *one subject serves for two predicates* (was..., raged...). Since the same meaning can be expressed by a relative ('who raged', &c.) it is often called, inaccurately (as by Abbott, § 214), the 'omission of the relative'. Cf. Kellner, § 109-III.

176. **His face thou hast.** Richard's character has effeminate elements; but this comparison shows that Shakespeare does not conceive him as physically a weakling; his personal beauty is of a masculine type.

177. **accomplish'd**, 'furnished', 'equipped'; hence the line means 'of your age'.

184-5. York here breaks down, and faintly excuses his unwonted boldness of speech as an involuntary outburst of grief.

185. compare between, used absolutely for 'to draw comparisons' (in which the king is involved).

190. royalties; the word was used in E. E. of the privileges which belong to any member of the royal house.

195. Note this vigorous colloquial form of hypothetical sentence, equivalent to 'If you take away Hereford's rights, you may as justly', &c. For the repetition of *rights* cf. v. 245.

197. ensue, follow upon.

198. Thus York's invective, like Gaunt's, culminates in the argument that Richard had virtually annulled the very conditions of his royal power,—in the one case by resigning his legal supremacy, in the other by repudiating the legal right of succession on which his own title rested.

201. A parallel conceit probably occurred in the original version of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, iii. 1. 47, which Ben Jonson ridicules in the form, "Caesar did never wrong but with just cause", *Discoveries*, § 71.

202-4. As a special favour Bolingbroke had received (by *letters-patent*) the privilege of appointing substitutes (*attorneys-general*) who were authorized to claim possession in his name of any bequest or other property falling to him. Richard did, in effect, 'call in these letters-patent', i.e. revoke the privilege, with the approval of his complaisant council, on March 18, 1399, some six weeks after the death of Gaunt. Holinshed, however, gives no indication of the time which elapsed.

202. letters-patents, i.e. open to inspection, the adj. taking a plural termination as in other scraps of legal French.

203. attorney-general, "he that by general authority is appointed to act in all our affairs or suits". (Cowel, *Law Interpreter*, quoted by Cl. Pr. edd.)

sue his livery, to apply for the delivery or surrender of the heir's lands to him (or, as here, to his substitute); the feudal suzerain in the first instance resuming possession of them until the heir had satisfactorily proved his claim.

204. deny his offer'd homage, refuse the formal act of homage which was part of the process of delivery. The letters-patent had allowed this to be 'respite'd' in consideration of a payment; by revoking them Richard practically rejected it altogether.

213-4. Cf. note to line 70 above.

217. To see this business. *See* used absolutely for *see to*. So *look for* *look out*, cf. note to i. 3. 243.

To-morrow next, i.e. at (*on*) the next morning. *To* has here its sense of rest in *time*, as in *place*. Cf. note, i. 3. 244 above. Skeat's explanation s.v. 'to-day' is wrong.

219-20. Richard, surpassing himself in fatuous self-confidence, chooses as his delegate the very man who, just and devoted as he is, has a moment before given voice to the indignation of his countrymen. Thus the first or active part of his career (as pictured in the play) culminates in a fatal crime followed immediately by a fatal blunder, and he disappears with the ominous words, "our time of stay is short",—another stroke of the *irony* noticed at i. 3. 48.

222. to-morrow, &c. Richard's actual departure for Ireland took place in May; he landed at Waterford June 1. But Holinshed's language leaves it open to suppose that he may have departed at once after Gaunt's death.

224. Here begins the *counterplot*, *i.e.* the series of machinations which work for the arrest and frustration of the *plot*, *i.e.* the wild courses of Richard. Both Northumberland and the other adherents of Bolingbroke are slightly sketched; apart from Bolingbroke himself, the detailed portraits of the play belong to the party of Richard. As Kreyssig suggests, this probably shows that the sequel (*Henry IV.—Richard III.*), where the party of Bolingbroke is treated in detail, was already in contemplation. Shakespeare seems in the present play to be concerned simply "to show in the most graphic and concrete way the inevitableness of the catastrophe, the untenableness of the existing state of things...The relative justification of the new order [the rule of the House of Lancaster] required to be proved by showing the rottenness of the old, if the sequel [the Wars of the Roses] was to have its full measure of tragic interest" [which it would not have if Bolingbroke were taken for a mere ambitious usurper].

226. It is not the humiliation of England but the wrong done to one of their own order that finally provokes these nobles to the point of active revolt. It is notable that the death of Gloucester is not referred to.

228. My heart is great, with feelings craving to be uttered. In *Julius Cæsar*, iii. i. 281, "thy heart is big" is used of feeling that prompts not utterance but *tears*.

229. liberal, free, unrestrained.

239. moe, more. See Glossary.

241-2. These words well "show the attitude of mind which the English always attempted to preserve as long as possible towards an erring king...This is precisely the sentiment which sent Gaveston to his doom on Blacklow Hill, and placed the executions of Strafford and Laud before that of Charles I.". (Ransome.)

242. will in this dependent sentence has approximately its original force, 'desire' ('whatever they choose to inform'), in the principal sentence (244) it is a pure mark of the future tense.

243. Merely in hate, 'out of pure hatred'.

246-8. No manipulation of this much-discussed passage can make it quite satisfactory, nor has any admissible emendation been proposed. (1) To omit 'quite' in 247 adjusts the metre, but the antithesis thus introduced between "lost their hearts" and "quite lost their hearts" (248) is irritatingly flat. (2) Abbott's scansion of 248 as "For áncient quárr'ls and quite lost thé-ir héarts" is technically just possible, but the verse thus violently saved is utterly un-Shakespearian. It is to be noted that Ross and the other speakers are so far only enumerating instances of the king's misgovernment;—the popular disaffection is referred to only as its natural result; the emphasis is therefore upon *commons*—*grievous taxes*, *nobles*—*ancient quárrels*, the "and quite lost their hearts" being added, as it were, enclitically. Cf. the repetition of *rights* in lines 195, 6. But the rhythm of line 247 remains very rough.

253. "The allusion here is to the treaty which Richard made with Charles VI. of France in 1393." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

250. *benevolences*, pronounced without the final *s*. Cf. Abbott, § 471.—This name (which soon became ironical) for a *forced loan* was first introduced under Edward IV. in 1473.

254. *ancestors*. The Folios omit *noble*, which is of interest as showing that the present verse of 1593 did not satisfy all the critical ears of 1623. But the quasi-Alexandrines of this type cannot all be explained away. See Prosody, III. § 3 (ii).

258. A singular verb is often used in E. E. after two nouns (1) where these stand for a single conception, or for two things not meant to be thought apart; (2) it is sometimes attracted to the *number* of the nearer subst. just as the *plural* often occurs after a plur. subst. in the same way. The old Northern plur. in *-es* may have contributed to bring the idiom about; but it is not to be thought that Shakespeare used any forms in *-eth* or *-es* as *plurals*.

263. This fine use of *sing* is very old. In O. E. poetry it is used of the crash of sword upon armour in battle (*seð byrne sang gryreleðða sum*, 'the coat of mail sang a direful lay', *Byrhtnoth*), of the ominous howling of the eagle and the wolf, &c.

265. *sit*, not a *metaphor* from the posture of 'sitting', but a survival of an old sense now nearly obsolete. In O. E. it may be used of whatever *presses* or *oppresses* another thing (e.g. of *fear*, *guilt*, &c.). Cf. the contemporary phrase "tongues...*sat* upon each of them" of the English Bible.

*sore*, grievously, heavily.

266. *securely*, as usual in E. E., 'heedlessly', 'careless of danger'. *Strike*, i.e. 'furl our sails', but probably with a covert reference to the ordinary sense of the word.

268. *unavoided*, *unavoidable*. The suffix *-ed* in past participles had in E. E. gone far to acquire the sense of 'what may be done' in addition

to that of 'what has been done'. For the most part this heightened meaning occurs in combination with a *negative prefix* (*unnumbered* = innumerable, *unprized*, *unvalued*, &c.), and probably the transition first took place in these, since it is easier to pass from *what has not been* to *what may not be* (non-existence being common to both) than from *what has been* to *what may be* (the latter suggesting non-existence, while the former implies existence).

270. When Death is personified by Shakespeare it is always in the form of the skeleton,—the grim mediæval fancy, stamped afresh upon the imagination of modern Europe by the famous engravings of the Dance of Death.

280. As Holinshed expressly says that the person who 'broke from the Duke of Exeter's', *i.e.* escaped from his house, was the son of Richard Earl of Arundel, whose brother was Archbishop of Canterbury, it is unlikely that Shakespeare meant line 281 to refer to *Cobham*; and, since Malone, it has been assumed that a line has been lost equivalent to 'The son of Richard Earl of Arundel'. Of course this would be quite unjustified, however glaring the historical blunder, if Shakespeare's authority were less explicit, or if he could be supposed to have deliberately diverged from it.

284. Strings of names are commonly allowed by Shakespeare, with fine instinct, to partially interrupt or impair the regular verse-rhythm. Such catalogues are essentially prosaic, and accord best with an openly prosaic form of speech.

286. Holinshed mentions, without deciding between them, two conflicting reports, according to one of which Bolingbroke landed with only fifteen lances, while the other represented the Duke of Britaigne as having "deliuered unto hym three thousand men of warre ...and that he had viii ships well furnished for the warre". The second, whether true or not, was clearly the more fit to be put into the mouth of Northumberland at this crisis. Even Ross and Willoughby might have shrunk from joining a handful of returned exiles.

tall. See Glossary.

287. expedience, expedition, swiftness.

290. stay the first departing. *First* is here not an adj., but an adverb to the verb implied in *departing*: 'wait till the king has first departed': E. E. has far greater freedom in this idiom than Md. E.; but cf. 'an early riser'.

292. Imp, 'piece out', properly 'graft upon', used technically, in hawking, of the process of attaching new feathers to a maimed wing. See Glossary.

293. broking, here a verbal noun loosely used as an adj. A broker was properly an *intermediary* or *go-between*, who arranged bargains, &c. In E. E. it was applied especially to the most shameful kind of traffic, hence the scorn with which it is used here.

294. In *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 3. 179, Shakespeare uses this image again, "And give to dust that is a little gilt More laud than gilt o'erdusted".

296. Ravenspurgh, a busy seaport up to the fifteenth century, since destroyed by the sea. It was on the lower Humber between Hull and Bridlington.

300. Hold out my horse, 'if my horse hold out', the subjunctive which puts a supposed case.

## Scene 2.

The last scene having disclosed the germs of the national revolution, the present shows, with pitiful clearness, the impotence of the authority it assails. Richard has alienated the strong men, and his government, left at the mercy of low-born favourites, of an aged uncle whom he has deeply offended, and of a young and tender-hearted queen, crumbles to the ground at the mere rumour of revolt. Shakespeare takes no pains to arouse the interest of suspense; he rather strives to let us foresee the inevitable ruin, and accumulates all the symptoms of coming disaster. The queen is full of dark forebodings, Bushy and Green part, foreseeing that they will never meet again, York goes hopelessly forth to his task of 'numbering sands and drinking oceans dry'.—The rapid accomplishment of the revolution, however, leaves the canvas free for the detailed exhibition of Richard's bearing in misfortune, and it is just this that Shakespeare has at heart. As Hazlitt says, "the weakness of the king leaves us leisure to take a greater interest in the misfortunes of the man".

The scene intended is probably *Windsor*, where, according to Holinshed, the parting of the king and queen occurred.

1-40. This part of the scene is wholly original.

1. *too much* sad; the use of *much* in E. E. as an adv. with adj. probably arose from its use with participles (e.g. 'too much grieved'), where it represents the instrumental case, = *multo*.

8, 9. "The amiable part of Richard's character is brought full upon us by his queen's few words." (Coleridge.) "In this scene Shakespeare begins the process of building up in his audience a new feeling of pity for the erring king. The first step towards this is to excite our pity for the innocent queen. In her mouth he is 'sweet Richard'." (Ransome.)—Note the value of the softening touch in this place, when the final speech of Northumberland has just presented Richard's misdeeds in one overwhelming indictment.

9, 10. Shakespeare freely foreshadows his disasters with mysterious premonitions; sometimes, as here and in the opening lines of the *Merchant of Venice*, as a 'melancholy' which the subject of it cannot explain, sometimes as in *Julius Cæsar* (cf. *Hamlet*, i. 1) and ii. 4. 7 below, in the cruder form of 'portents'.



12. *some thing*. The accent is now always on the *some*; but Shakespeare could lay it on the second syllable. This is probably intended in *Romeo and Juliet*, v. 3. 8: "As signal that thou hear'st some thing approach"; and also in *Merchant of Venice*, i. 1. 129. So, *somewhat* beside *somewhat*.

14. *shadows*, not 'shades', but '(illusory) images'. The word was often used for a *portrait*, and contrasted with substance, as here. Cf., for instance, *Merchant of Venice*, iii. 2. 127, "how far the substance of my praise doth wrong this shadow (Portia's portrait), so far this shadow doth limp behind the substance". Cf. also below, iv. 1. 292.

15. *shows*; a singular verb often follows the *relative* in spite of a plural antecedent. Abbott, § 247.

18. *perspective* in E. E. was a general term for various artificial means of producing *optical illusion*, and hence generally for the infant science of *optics*. Thus in *All's Well*, v. 3. 48, a contemptuous gaze is compared to a 'perspective' "which warp'd the line of every other favour"; in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Lover's Progress*, iii. 6, lies are said, "like perspectives" (*i.e.* like *telescopes*), to "draw offences nearer still and greater" (quoted Cl. Pr. edd.). But it was specially applied to a kind of *relief* in which the surface was so modelled as to produce, when seen from the side, the impression of a continuous picture, which, when seen from the front, disappeared. The term 'perspective' was applied on account of the illusion involved, although this was not here due to glass or a lens. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (quoted by Staunton) describes among the treasures of Gerards Bromley there "the pictures of Henry the great of France and his queen, both upon the same indented board, which if beheld directly, you only perceive a confused piece of work; but if obliquely, of one side you see the king's and on the other the queen's picture". Another variety of *perspectives* is described in Jonson's *Alchemist*, iii. 2—

"He'll show a perspective, where on one side  
You shall behold the faces and the persons  
Of all sufficient young heirs in town".

Cf. also *Twelfth Night*, v. 1. 223—

"One face, one voice, one habit, and two persons,  
A natural perspective that is, and is not".

*rightly*, directly; but with the further suggestion of 'correctly', it being implied that the view of the situation in which no 'shapes of grief' were seen, is the true one.

20. *Distinguish form*, 'show distinct forms', *i.e.* the illusory images of line 17.

30-32. *so heavy sad*, &c., 'so sad that though, in my thoughtful abstraction I conceive no positive thought, I am yet oppressed by this unsubstantial grief.'

34. nothing less, *i.e.* anything rather than (conceit).

34-8. The queen's fantastic speculations about her grief are in harmony with its indefinite and unsubstantial nature. She distinguishes with some subtlety between (1) an imagined grief (conceit), which is the partial survival or imperfect reproduction of an actual grief, the thought of its cause outlasting the emotion (cf. Höffding, *Psychology*, p. 241), and (2) a real but unexplained grief, which is pure emotion without any perception of cause, and so either *causeless*,—'nothing hath begot my something grief'; or else with a cause which is yet to be disclosed; 'the grief I feel but cannot name already affects something else, from which it will pass by reversion to me'.

48. strongly, as a military term, 'with a large force'.

52. that is worse, 'what is worse'; *that* being the demonstrative, used as often without a relative.

57. This line appears in all the Quartos after the first, and in all the Folios, as 'And all the rest of the (that) revolted, &c.'. It is nevertheless idiomatic if somewhat old-fashioned Elizabethan English. Cf. the use of *other, one*: "Was reckoned *one* the wisest prince that there had reigned", *Henry VIII.* ii. 4. 48: "other her gentyll women" (Caxton).

58-9. The Earl of Worcester was Thomas Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Steward of the King's Household. The white staff was his sign of office. Holinshed only says that the household servants 'dispersed', not that they joined Bolingbroke. The change was in accord with the general intention of this scene; cf. introductory note above.

Worcester, three syllables, as in *1 Henry IV.* i. 3. 15; iii. 1. 5 (elsewhere two); and 'Gloucester' in *1 Henry VI.* i. 3. 4, &c.

63. Cf. line 10.

64. prodigy was used for (1) any portent; (2) especially a monstrous birth, as here.

66. The newly discovered, definite sorrow is added to her former sorrowful state, in which sad foreboding was blended with the pang of separation from Richard.

68. Cf. this with the king's petulant outburst, iii. 2. 204-5. Can you discover any difference in the motives which prompt each to court 'despair'?

72. lingers; the word is both transitive and intransitive in E. E. It is probably a 16th century coinage from *leng-en*, 'to lengthen', which represents it in M. E.

\*74. signs of war is defined by the local description: it means the mail-gorget or throat-piece.

75. of careful business, of anxious preoccupation. Both 'careful' and 'busy' have in Md. E. (like *work*) lost almost all the *πάθος*

which in O. E. and M. E. belonged to them,—O. E. *cearu* meaning 'sorrow', while *weorc*, often, and *bysig* and the subst. *bysgu* usually, refer to painful kinds of activity.

76. **Uncle.** See Prosody, I. § 3 (iii).

80. **Your husband, he.** This idiom, familiar in popular poetry of all periods, is due to the prominence in the speaker's mind of some one member of the sentence (here the *subject*), which thus breaks loose, as it were, from the texture of the thought and emerges as an isolated idea, the complete sentence following, with a pronoun to represent the phrase already detached. For instances cf. Abbott, § 243; also Kellner, § 73.

87. York's timid fatalism may be compared with the *dogged* fatalism of Richard, ii. 1. 146.

95. **to report;** cf. note on i. 3. 244.

96. **knave** is a familiar and kindly mode of address to an inferior, somewhat like the modern 'lad'. It can be even tender, as in the pathetic words of Antony to Eros as he arms him for his last battle: "Here I am Antony, Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my knave", *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 14. 13.

98. There is an ellipsis probably of 'I pray'.

98-122. York's helpless agitation is emphasized by the broken and irregular form of these lines. The suggestion that they are meant for prose (Cl. Pr. edd.) is inadmissible, continuous prose nowhere occurring in *Richard II.* or *King John*. The great variety of the rhythms scattered through this play makes it probable that Shakespeare was trying the experiment of making metre as well as style *dramatic*. Cf. note to i. 3. 249-50. Even in his maturest work he often uses *half lines* with this end. [Look out for other instances of this.] York's perplexity has three distinct grounds which emerge confusedly in his embarrassed thought: (1) the practical difficulties—want of money and means; (2) the fact that he is equally near of kin to both parties; (3) the sense that the whole situation is but a Nemesis upon Richard's guilt.

101. *I.e.* 'provided no disloyalty of mine had provoked him to it'. E. E. freely uses the possessives to describe something not *actually* or *prospectively* belonging to the subject, but only *conceivably*. Md. E. uses them only in the former cases (I can speak, *e.g.*, of 'my death' before it happens, because it is certain, but not of 'my illness', &c., unless of one past). This is a survival of the wider genitive sense of the later 'possessives'; O. E. *min* = 'of, concerning me'.

110. **thrust disorderly** is Steevens' alteration for *disorderly thrust* of the old edd., but is not absolutely necessary.

112-3. **Th' one...th' other.** This reading of the First Folio (the Quartos give *t' one...t' other*) is kept here for the sake of the verse—

hopelessly disguised by the change to *the one...the other* usually made by modern editors. See Prosody, I. § 4 (i).

122. *six and seven*, already proverbial for 'confusion',—the idea probably being that of a mixture of things sufficiently like to be mistaken, but actually of opposite kinds (*odd* and *even*). Bacon uses the phrase to introduce a pun upon that of Sixtus the Fifth: "a fierce thundering friar, that would set all at six and seven; or at six and five if you allude to his name". (*Considerations touching a War with Spain*, quoted by Delius.)

127-8. [Give the exact sense of this.]

129. Similarly, the Second Murderer in *Richard III.* (i. 4. 130) says that his conscience is in Richard's purse.

133. 'If they are to be judges of the matter, we are condemned also.'

138. *hateful*, active, 'full of hate'. Cf. Kellner, § 250.

142. *presages*. The word occurs with stress on first syllable in *King John*, i. 1. 28, iii. 4. 158, as in Md. E. On variable stress in E. E. see Prosody, II.

### Scene 3.

This scene stands in dramatic contrast to the last. There, agitation, foreboding, and confusion; here, the quiet advance of a resolute man to his goal.

2-18. The outspoken devotion of Northumberland to Bolingbroke becomes dramatic in view of his subsequent rebellion, and Shakespeare has doubtless emphasized it with that end. Note especially the unconscious irony of Percy's assurances, lines 41-4.

5. The 'wild hills' and 'rough ways' are thought of, not as separate and distinct features of the country, but as, together, expressing its general character. The singular verb might, however, be used in E. E. even with undoubted plurals.

7. *délectable*. This survival of the common M. E. accentuation is the exception in E. E., the accent of a derivative usually following that of the simple word. Other cases are *détestable*, *supportable*; and we still say *confortable*. See Prosody, II. § 2.

12. *tediousness and process*, for 'tedious process': two qualities of a substantive being expressed by two substantives, one of which is psychologically an adjective, though grammatically a noun.

15, 16. *hope to joy...hope enjoy'd*. *Hope* is, first, the emotion or state of hope; second, the object hoped for. Similarly, *grief* may be either the feeling or its source (the *grievance*). This fluctuation is characteristic of the imaginative rather than logical quality of the Elizabethan mind, which dwelt more on affinities than on differences, and tended to make the meaning of words rich and complex, not specific and definite.

21. **Percy.** Probably two syllables, as elsewhere, in spite of Abbott, § 478. Irregular verse is especially apt to occur in formal and matter-of-fact statements, at the beginning of a speech, and in connection with proper names: here all three conditions are combined.

24. **thought ... to have learn'd;** cf. Abbott, § 360.

33. **over,** one syllable. It is often written *o'er* (*o're, ore*), but must frequently be pronounced so even when written in full. Prosody, I. § 4 (iii).

41. **tender.** See Glossary.

45-50. Compare with this speech Hotspur's bitter reference to it, *Henry IV. i. 3. 251*—

“Why, what a candy deal of courtesy  
This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!  
Look, ‘when his infant fortune came to age’,  
And ‘gentle Harry Percy’, and ‘kind cousin’:  
O, the devil take such cozeners!” &c.

Bolingbroke throughout bears himself with a certain dignified reserve, leaving it to others to carry on the less essential passages of dialogue, while he himself intervenes only at the decisive crises. Thus the conversations, lines 21-40, 51-58, and 137-161, are carried on before him, but not by him; but he comes forward to welcome Percy, Ross, and Willoughby, and to confront York. Both in Richard and in Bolingbroke the kingly bearing is in some degree self-conscious and artificial; but Richard achieves it by sheer rhetorical talent, by command of eloquent and dignified phrase; Bolingbroke by astuteness and tact, enforcing and utilizing his genuine dignity and massiveness of character.

55. **Seymour,** “Richard de St. Maur, 1355-1401”. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

61. **unfelt,** *i.e.* impalpable, intangible, not yet taking the material form of rewards. [What is the antecedent of ‘which’?]

63-7. Both the deferential language of Ross and Willoughby, and Bolingbroke's reply, betray the tacit assumption of the whole party that Bolingbroke is not come merely, as he tells York, ‘to seek his own’.

70. Contrast this dignified insistence upon his just title, with Richard's wayward and petulant surrender of his.

75. Probably a sarcastic play upon the words *title* and *tittle* is intended; Capell proposed to read *tittle* in this place. Both words are derived from Lat. *titulus* through M.E. *titel*, and in E.E. the difference of pronunciation (*titl*, *tittl*) was slight enough to permit of the pun.

79. **absent time,** good E.E. for ‘time of absence’. Cf. *i. 3. 90, 241*.

80. self-borne, borne for oneself. This is preferable to the interpretation 'self-born' (Cl. Pr. edd.), 'indigenous', 'homesprung', the combination of 'born' with arms being harsh, of 'borne' natural and obvious. Neither compound occurs elsewhere, 'self born' in *Winter's Tale*, iv. 1. 8, being two words, and *self*=same.

84. deceivable, deceptive. Cf. Abbott, § 445. On the interchange of active and passive sense in the E. E. adj. cf. Kellner, § 250.

86f. York, encouraged by Bolingbroke's astute show of deference, attempts to cover his faltering purpose with bold words.

87. This idiom was somewhat homely and colloquial, and suits the excited blustering manner with which the old man (not in reality quite sixty) begins his expostulation, as if he were correcting a truant schoolboy. Cf. old Capulet's still more homely outburst (to Juliet): "Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds", &c., *Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 5. 153; also in Peele's *Edward 1.*, "Ease me no easings, we'll ease you of this carriage".

91. a dust, a particle of dust.

92. 'But then I have to ask further questions.'

94. pale-faced, proleptically, as the result of fright.

95. despised, probably for 'despicable'; cf. ii. 1. 268. The epithet is at first surprising; but York's whole speech is a curious mixture of two contradictory conceptions of the situation, between which he helplessly fluctuates: the one, that Bolingbroke is the 'foolish boy' whom he, armed with the power of the 'anointed king', is taking to task; the other, that Bolingbroke is the irresistible invader at whose mercy he lives. Thus in the same breath he can use the language of bluster and of appeal, and protest against the terrifying array of an army which, from his pedestal of supreme authority, he at the same time loftily disparages.

100. "It does not appear that Shakespeare had any historical authority for this" reminiscence. (Cl. Pr. edd.) This gives some plausibility to the suggestion of the same editors that its motive was derived from the speech in which Nestor similarly recalls the prowess of his youth (*Iliad*, vii. 157). Hall's translation was published in 1581.

104. chastise. Cf. note to ii. 2. 142, and Prosody, II. § 2.

107. 'On what quality does (my fault) depend, and in what does it consist?' The two clauses express the same thought in different terms; in the first *stand* has its proper sense; in the second, as often, it is an emphatic variant of *is*. *Condition* was used especially of personal characteristics (it has here nothing to do with 'express compact', as the Cl. Pr. edd. suggest).

• 112. braving, defiant, as in line 143.

113-136. Bolingbroke's speech plays dexterously upon the old man's most sensitive points—his reverence for law and order, his hidden tenderness for his nephew, his love for his son, and his family pride—newly lacerated by the ignominious sale of Gaunt's possessions.

116. *indifferent*, impartial, without bias for or against.

128. A metaphor from hunting: the 'wrongs' are the quarry, 'roused', pursued, and driven 'to the bay', *i.e.* 'to the last extremity'.

138. *stands ... upon*, *i.e.* 'incumbent upon', a frequent E. E. idiom. It is notable that the preposition 'upon' here regularly follows the object.

145. [Point out the distinction between this image and that of line 128.]

154. *ill left*, left (by the king) in an inadequate condition. We have another example of the versatile force of *ill* in composition, in 'ill-erected', v. 1. 2.

156. *attach*, arrest. See Glossary.

163. Under a show of deference York is virtually arrested.

165. As the next scene shows, Shakespeare did not mean to depart from Holinshed's statement that *Bagot* was not in the castle, but had previously escaped (according to ii. 2. 141) to Ireland. He, Bushy, and Green had been continually associated as leaders of the gang of royal favourites; Bolingbroke names them as standing for the faction which held the castle for the king. The carelessness of the statement adds to the impression of insignificance made by these men, whose characters are very slightly sketched. It did not greatly matter whether *Bagot* was there or not.

170-1. Cf. lines 158-9. York will be neutral and 'welcome' the new-comers, provided they meet him on the same terms, 'nor friends nor foes'. The previous and following lines indicate his motives. He will not 'go with them', for that would be 'to break his country's laws'; nor against them, for that would be to strive to undo things which, being 'past redress', ought to be 'past care'.

#### Scene 4.

This brief scene shows the ruin of Richard's last hope by the defection of the Welsh army (40,000 strong, according to Holinshed) which Salisbury had collected on his behalf. Military events only become in the strict sense *dramatic* when they illustrate the *character* of those concerned in the drama. But Shakespeare freely ignores this law in the *Histories* (not in the *Tragedies*); and he touches very slightly on the one dramatic element of the present scene,—the fact that the dispersion of the army was ultimately due to Richard's fatal want of practical instinct, which allowed him to loiter idly in Ireland.



when his presence was imperatively needed at home. On the other hand, he has expanded into a rich and splendid picture Holinshed's hint of the immediate cause of the dispersion, viz. the rumour of Richard's death. The 'rumour' becomes the fruit of one of those seasons of dread portents which in Shakespeare habitually 'blaze forth the death of princes'.

8. Holinshed mentions among other portents that "old baie trees withered", but only in the second edition (1586).

11. lean-look'd, like 'pale-faced', 'lean-faced', &c.; *i.e.* look is the noun, not the verb.

24. crossly, adversely to, athwart. Thus this act of foreboding, which had opened with the prophetic curse of Gaunt, closes with the bitter lament of Salisbury as the last hope ebbs away.

### Act III.—[The Capture.]

#### Scene I.

The general subject of this act, the capture of Richard, is fitly precluded by the summary arrest and execution of his underlings. The first scene symbolizes what is to follow. "With rare ingenuity Shakespeare makes the scene an opportunity to show the true kingliness of Bolingbroke's character. Nothing can exceed the dignity of his address to the fallen minions, at whose door, according to traditional English practice, he places the whole guiltiness of Richard." (Ransome.) The judicial dignity of Bolingbroke's harangue to Richard's favourites should be compared with the savage hunting-down of Gaveston in Marlowe's *Edward II.*

3. part, rare in this sense of 'part from'. Cf. Abbott, § 198.

4. urging, common in E.E. in the rhetorical sense of *forcing* or *emphasizing* a particular topic or argument.

9. *I.e.* 'happy (well-endowed) in blood and lineaments (outward aspect)'. This bold separation of the *adjective* and its *determinants* is a characteristic idiom of E.E., far less familiar to M.E., though not unknown. Cf. Kellner, § 466.

10. unhappied; cf. 'undeaf', ii. i. 16.

clean, sheer, entirely.

11-15. This charge is of course unhistorical, the queen being (as Shakespeare well knew) not yet ten years old. But Bolingbroke, in thus becoming her champion, acquires an air of chivalrous magnanimity quite in harmony with Shakespeare's view of his character. Cf. his care for her 'entreatment' (line 37). Thus the felicitous

creation of the queen is made to add colour and richness to the portraits of both Richard and Bolingbroke.

11. in manner, more usually 'in a manner', *i.e.* 'in some sort'.

20. This bold conceit is best illustrated by its nearly contemporary parallel in *Romeo and Juliet*, i. 1. 139, "With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew, Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs".

21. The striking resemblance of this to Dante's description of his exile (as prophesied by Cacciaguida, *Paradiso* xvii, 58 f.) is probably accidental, "Tu proverai sì come sa di sale Lo pane altrui" ('Thou shalt find how salt is the taste of another man's bread').

22. signories, manors, lordships. See Glossary.

23. Dispark'd. A park is technically a 'place of privilege for beasts of the chase', legally inclosed. To 'dispark' a park was to destroy the inclosures and throw it open.

24. *I.e.* broken from my windows my coat of arms blazoned in the painted glass.

25. imprese. See Glossary.

29. to the death, an archaism in keeping with the solemnity of the sentence. In M. E., as a rule, *death* takes the article when it is not *personified*, and no article when it is. But usage fluctuated much. Thus *the deth* is personified in "Efter the deth she cryed a thousand sythe" (cried for death), Chaucer, ed. Morris, vol. iv. 330; and not personified in "We han the deth deserved bothe tuo", *ib.* ii. 53. The phrase in the text was also used, "Y sorweful man, ydampned to the deth" (I sorrowful man, condemned to death), *ib.* v. 339. Cf. Einkenel, *Streifzüge durch die Mittellenglische Syntax*, p. 2.

38. commends, compliments. So iii. 3. 126.

41. love in E. E. is often merely 'kindly disposition'.

43. "Owen Glendower of Conway... was in attendance upon Richard as his 'beloved squire and minstrel'. He escaped from Flint when Richard was taken." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

## Scene 2.

• The minute delineation of Richard's character now begins. The plot of this scene resembles that of ii. 2,—*i.e.* it consists of a series of *entrances*, each disclosing some fresh misfortune; and these are skilfully made to lay bare before us Richard's impulsive feminine temperament, with its sudden alternate fits of arrogance and despair. Coleridge has well ascribed to him "a constant overflow of emotions from a total incapability of controlling them, and thence a waste of that energy which should have been reserved for actions... The consequence is *moral exhaustion* and rapid alternations of unmanly

despair and ungrounded hope, every feeling being abandoned for its direct opposite upon the pressure of external accident."—Note also (2) the *symmetry* with which these alternations are arranged,—a mark of the immature Shakespeare. The whole scene might be mapped out somewhat thus:

- i. Richard confident, 1-62;  
    urged to action by Carlisle and Aumerle, 27-35;
- ii. (enter Salisbury), Richard despairs:—again confident;
- iii. (enter Scroop), Richard despairs;  
    encouraged by Carlisle and Aumerle:—again confident;
- iv. (news of York's defection), Richard despairs.

i. **Barkloughly**, probably Harlech. The name occurs only in Holinshed (*Barclowlie*), where it is a copyist's or printer's error for 'Hertlowli'. The two MSS. of the Life of Richard II., by a monk of Evesham, in the British Museum, have 'Hertlowli', 'Hertlow' (Cl. Pr. edd.), which last is plainly referable to *Harddlech*, the Old Welsh form of the modern 'Harlech' (Mabinogion). Harlech was the only prominent fortress then existing between Caernarvon and Aberystwyth.

2. **brook**, commonly in Shakespeare 'to endure', has here a trace of its O.E. sense, 'to enjoy, like'.

3. **After**. A final *-er* is often slurred before a vowel, but seldom before a consonant. Cf. *Measure for Measure*, ii. 4. 58, "Stand more for *number than* for accompt.—How say you?" and Prosody, I. § 3 (ii).

4. On the difference between Richard's love for England, and Bolingbroke's, cf. note to i. 3. 306-9. Note how felicitously the contrast is brought home by the juxtaposition of this and the previous scene. Richard loses himself in an eloquent wail to England his 'lost child'; we have just seen Bolingbroke sternly avenging her wrongs.

8. [Explain the order.] (Cf. iii. 1. 9.)

9. **Plays**, an exquisite use of the word;—'dallies'; neither tears nor smiles fully expressing the mother's emotion, she involuntarily fluctuates between them as if sporting with them.

14-22. The best comment on these lines is a hint of their resemblance to the fairy charm-song in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 2. 9. Richard, in the crisis of action, creates about him a fairyland full of wise and faithful beasts, and the armed troops wait inactive on the shore while their leader invokes the aid of nettles and spiders.

23. 'Mock not my solemn appeal, addressed to deaf ears though it be!'—*sense*, as often in E. E., refers to physical perception; and *senseless* is used passively (=not perceived). So *careless* = 'not cared for'; *helpless* = beyond help. Cf. Kellner, § 250.

25. *her native king*, the king who is naturally, by right of inheritance, hers.

29. *heaven yields*, adopted by Pope for the reading of the Quartos *heavens yeeld*, 'heaven' being used in the two following lines.

33. Aumerle bluntly interprets the veiled remonstrance of the sturdy bishop; merely, however, provoking a fresh outburst of Richard's splendid but unseasonable poetry.

34. *security*. Cf. ii. i. 266.

36-53. It is characteristic of Richard to lay hold of some brilliant image or fantastic analogy and develop it in detail as ardently and earnestly as if it were a solid fact. To him it *is*. Hence the petulance with which he turns upon Aumerle for not recognizing that evil shrinks when the sun rises. His argument could hardly be more magnificent—or more irrelevant.

36. 'Comfortable' is always active in Shakespeare, and the suffix *-able* more often than not.

38. *that*, for which Hanmer adopted the easy but un-Shakespearian reading *and*, is doubtless right. 'The sun, that (then) lights the lower world.'

40. *boldly*, conjectured by Collier and adopted by Dyce, for the *bloody* of most of the old editions. Q I, however, has *bouldy*.

55. *balm*, the oil used in anointing a king. For the metre cf. Prosody, I. § 2 (i).

58. *press'd*, impressed, *i.e.* into the ranks.

64. *near*, comparative; probably rather a contraction of *nearer* through slurring than a survival of the M. E. comparative.

71. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, iv. 5. 52, (Nurse) "O day! O day! O day! O hateful day!"

75, 76. High colour, easily yielding to deadly pallor, was part of Shakespeare's conception of Richard; cf. ii. i. 118, and note. On Richard's argument cf. note to line 36 above.

76. *But, now*. [The exact force of *but*?]

76-79. On the quatrain cf. note to ii. i. 9.

83-90. Richard again characteristically forgets the pressure of hard facts under the influence of an inspiring idea.

92. *deliver*, communicate.

93-103. Richard nowhere hits so successfully the tone of kingly dignity as here. He is apt to be boyish when he exults, and womanish when he despairs; but exultation sobered by Scroop's warning preface, and not yet shattered by his story, gives him for a moment the bearing of a man.

95. [Meaning of *care*?]

102. Cry, proclaim, announce.

112. thin and hairless scalps, a good illustration of the picturesque inexactness of Elizabethan language. Grammatically, 'thin' qualifies 'scalps'; but in the writer's mind it qualifies 'hair', supplied from the following adj.: the whole being thus equivalent to 'scalps with few hairs or none'.

114. female, *i.e.* as small and delicate.

116. Thy beadsmen, the 'almsmen' supported by the king and required in return to offer prayers (M. E. *bede*, prayer) for him.

117. double-fatal, the wood being used for bows, and the berries as poison.

118. manage, handle, wield.

119. bills. The bill was a formidable weapon used by infantry in mediæval warfare; commonly a spear-headed shaft, with an axe at one side and a spike at the other.

122. The occurrence of Bagot's name here has caused some difficulty, since the context seems to imply that three persons only are mentioned (line 132), and that Bagot is not one of these (line 141). Theobald accordingly proposed the grotesque conjecture *he got* for *Bagot*. The words have, however, all the air of being genuine, and Richard naturally associates together the three men of meaner origin who owed everything to his favour. It would, therefore, be surprising if Bagot were *not* mentioned. But the passage is certainly dramatically inadequate; since Aumerle's question in line 141 implies, as the text stands, that he knew Bagot not to be one of the 'three'; and it is not apparent how he could know this.

128. A similar play on the word *peace*, under yet grimmer circumstances, occurs in the dialogue of Macduff and Rosse (*Macbeth*, iv. 3. 176).

"*Macd.* How does my wife? *Rosse.* Why, well.

*Macd.* And all my children? *Rosse.* Well too.

*Macd.* The tyrant has not batter'd at their peace?

*Rosse.* No, they were well at peace when I did leave 'em."

133. Would, past indic., 'were they willing to'.

135. property, specific quality; that which distinguishes a thing, or class of things, from the other members of the same *genus*; now used loosely for any quality possessed by a thing; *e.g.*, in the present case, not only the quality of attachment which distinguished love from hate, but the quality of *passion* which they possess in common. "An adaptation of the proverb, *Corruptio optimi pessima* [the best things are worst in decay]." (Deighton.)

144-177. As in his former speech (36-62) he gathered courage from thinking of the majesty of kingship, so in this he makes his despair picturesque and effective by arraying it in the rich popular

traditions and fancies on the theme of the Fall of Kings. Cf. note to lines 156-160.

144. Scroop's answer, which would have betrayed the whole truth at once, is prevented in the most natural way by Richard's petulant outburst. He only gets his chance at line 194, after Richard has again recovered confidence; and then the tragic material thus economized is utilized with full effect.

153. *model*. Cf. note to i. 2. 28. The expression is ambiguous. Literally, "model of the barren earth" means 'image in little of the earth', *i.e.* the grave 'which to the dead represents the whole earth'. This is rather far-fetched; and it is likely that Shakespeare would not here have used the word *model* had he not been thinking of the mould as closely wrapped about the body and taking its impress. Cf. Hamlet's use of the word: "My father's signet, Which was the *model* of that Danish seal", *Hamlet*, v. 2. 50. On the inexactness of poetical language in E. E. see note to line 112 above.—Mr. Pater (*Appreciations*, p. 209) thinks there is an allusion to the *effigy* of the dead placed over a royal tomb. This is unlikely.

156-160. 'Sad stories of the death of kings' were a typical form of what in the Middle Ages was called 'Tragedy', *i.e.* a tale of prosperity ending in ruin. The most famous collection was Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, adapted in English by Lydgate in his *Falls of Princes*, which in the generation before Shakespeare was enlarged and continued in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1559 f. Shakespeare must have been familiar with this colossal collection. The 'tragedy' of Richard himself is among the earliest of the 'sad stories' it contains.

158. On the repetition of a word without apparent point see note to ii. 1. 248.

160-163. The conception is in the very spirit of the popular sixteenth-century imagination of Death. The 'Dance of Death' represented Death summoning the emperor. A print in the *Imagines Mortis* may, as Douce suggests, have directly suggested the image. "There a king is represented sitting on his throne, sword in hand, with courtiers round him, while from his crown rises a grinning skeleton." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

161. *rounds*, encircles.

163. *Scoffing his state*, scoffing at his majesty.

164. *a breath*, a short space.

*scene*. Note the felicity of the image, which suggests that the king, like the player, only 'struts and frets his hour upon the stage', and will presently disrobe.

166. *self*, adj. 'concerned with self', nearly equivalent to 'selfish', a word first found in the seventeenth century.

It is characteristic that Richard thus stumbles into self-recognition under the stimulus, not of reason or conscience, but of poetic fancy.

168. *humour'd thus*, 'while he (the king) is possessed by this humour (of conceit)'; or, perhaps, 'when his will has been thus gratified'. The former is more in keeping with the immediate context (since lines 166-7 represent Death as *infusing* kingly vanity, not as gratifying it), the latter is a more usual sense of the word, and is consistent with the more remote context ('*Allowing him a breath*', &c.).

175-6. There may be something lost here; yet Shakespeare often uses four-foot verses in series of brief weighty phrases, separated by marked pauses (cf. Abbott, § 509; Prosody, III. § 3 (i) (p. 198).

176. *subjected*, made subject to want, grief, &c.; *i.e.* made their *subject*. Richard, who rallied Gaunt on 'playing nicely' with his name, has now himself learnt that "Misery makes sport to mock itself".

179. *presently*. See Glossary.

183. *to fight*, in fighting. Cf. Glossary, s.v. *to*.

184-5. 'To die fighting is to die triumphing over Death; to in fear is to die cowering before him.' The bold expression of the former line contains the thought (appropriate to a warlike bishop) that the valorous Soul is emancipated from death. Cf. also the grand close of *Sonnet cxlvi*: addressed to his 'Soul'—

"Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;  
Within be fed, without be rich no more:  
So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,  
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then".

187. *I.e.* make the limb perform the function of the whole body;—give York's troop the efficacy of a great army by good generalship.

188. The reminder which he had impatiently repelled when overwhelmed by the news of Bushy's and Green's deaths, now instantly restores his spirits.

189. *I.e.* to decide the doom of each of us.

194. The quatrain emphasizes the emotion with which Scroop delivers the last fatal message.

198. *by small and small*, a variation of the common 'by little and little', itself based upon the O. E. *lytlum* and *lytlum* (instrumental plural of *lytel*).

204. This admirable stroke goes to the core of Richard's artist nature. Keenly alive to the effectiveness of the parts he plays, he prefers the heroic rôle of the magnificent and absolute king; failing this, he will have the pathetic rôle of the ruined and hapless king. Aumerle's futile suggestion has disturbed his growing acquiescence in this secondary but still effective part.

212. 'To plough where there is some hope of harvest: with me their labour can produce no fruit.'



## Scene 3.

This very dramatic scene represents the central and decisive moment in the story,—the virtual transfer of the crown from Richard to Bolingbroke. The transfer is brought about by purely dramatic means,—by the action of *character* upon *character*. There is no vulgar conflict or trial of strength. Both Bolingbroke and Richard play a part, the one with astute calculation, the other out of instinct for effect; Bolingbroke never departs from the rôle of the mere injured subject, come ‘but for mine own’; while Richard, after a momentary uncertainty (lines 127 f.), adopts the rôle of the ruined king, as in iii. 2, and pathetically courts his own fall, Bolingbroke quietly securing him in this assumed position by cutting off his retreat.

9. On the short line cf. Prosody, I. § 2 (iii) (a).

12. *so...to...*, the usual idiom in E.E. for indicating a consequence, Mod. E. ‘so..., as to....’

13. *the head*, the title.

17. *mistake*, fail to recognize that.

21. Shakespeare here diverges from Holinshed, who represents the castle as already in the hands of Northumberland, who had thence proceeded to Conway, where Richard had found refuge, and induced him to accompany him back to Flint. Richard was thus already virtually a prisoner. The scene would, so contrived, have lost the element of *suspense*,—like a hunt in a closed field; and Richard’s attitude in lines 62 f. would have seemed farcical.

31–61. “Observe the fine struggle of a haughty sense of power and ambition in Bolingbroke with the necessity for dissimulation.” (Coleridge.)

32. *rude ribs*, the stubborn defensive walls. So in *King John* the walls of Angers are called “the flinty ribs of this contemptuous city”, ii. i. 384.

34. *ruin’d ears*, the battered casements or loopholes; cf. the ‘tattered battlements’, line 52.

*ears*, an obvious image; cf. ‘window’ (= wind-eye).

*deliver*: used absolutely in E. E. = ‘relate’, as in our ‘deliver a message’.

39. *Even*; see note to i. 3. 77.

45. *The which*, “like Latin *quod in quod si*”, Abbott, § 272.

47. It is characteristic that Bolingbroke never, even in order ‘to be brief’, omits Richard’s title.

52. The words *totter* and *tatter* and their derivatives were much confused in E.E. ‘Totter’d’ was a common spelling for ‘tatter’d’; it occurs in the first two quartos here; similarly in the quartos of *Ham-*

*let*, "tear a passion to totters"; and in Ford, *The Sun's Darling* (Skeat). For the use of the word in reference to *hard* things (= 'jagged', 'lacerated'), cf. *Pierce Plowman's Crede*, 753: "His *teþ* wip *toylinge* of *leþer tatered as-a sawe*".

58. This indication beforehand of the policy he means to pursue is characteristic of Marlowe, and of Shakespeare when under his influence.

60. on the earth, and not on him. "Cold, smooth, pliant as the earth-encircling waters, destroying only where the natural law of the advance meets with resistance,—raining down upon the earth impartially, whether upon king or beggar,—so Bolingbroke attacks not the *king*, but the *throne*: he is not fighting out of personal rancour, but for possession, for solid lasting power." (Kreyszig.)

61. mark King Richard how he looks; this *concrete* form of the substantive sentence was still common in E. E. Cf. Kellner, § 104.

62-67. Probably not spoken by Bolingbroke, though the old editions indicate no change of speaker, but either by Percy (Dyce) or York (Hanmer). Again a vivid picture of the 'rose-red' Richard. The image in these lines was a favourite one with Shakespeare. Cf. *Sonnets* vii and xxxiii.

70. majesty; the second syllable slurred (Appendix i, § 2), and the remaining superfluous syllable explained by the pause (*ib.* iii, § 2).

72 f. "Richard's oratorical talent grows more triumphant as his action grows more pitiable." (Kreyszig.)

73, 76. fearful, awful; [the exact force of these adjectives?]

75-6. Richard's fantastic conception of his office is vividly conveyed by this way of phrasing his demand,—as if the very limbs of his subjects owed him fealty.

81. profane, commit sacrilege.

83. torn their souls, violated the integrity of their souls by treason.

87. The 'angels' of iii. 2. 60, who were to repel Bolingbroke, are now replaced by plagues, which are expected only to take vengeance on the yet unborn. But the latter part of the speech (lines 95 f.) is clearly intended as an unconscious forecast of the civil wars of the next century, like Carlisle's speech (iv. 1. 136 f.).

93-4. 'To open a testament' (will) is the first step towards carrying out its provisions; hence Richard merely says, in highly coloured language, that Bolingbroke is come to turn war from an abstract purpose into a deadly reality. Delius compares Kyd's phrase in *Jeronymo*, "Then I unclasp the purple leaves of war". *Purple*, as often, of blood.

97. the flower of England's face, *i.e.* the blossomy surface of the land, stained by the bleeding slain, but with a secondary suggestion, made prominent in the next lines, of a flower-like human countenance.

98. maid-pale, virgin-white. The Cl. Pr. edd. compare *1 Henry VI.* ii. 4. 47, "I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here".

101. In ironical allusion to Richard's boast, line 85.

102. civil, as against fellow-countrymen.

uncivil, as 'violent', 'turbulent'.

104. Harry. See Prosody, I. § 2 (ii).

105-120. Northumberland, unlike the Homeric Messenger, does not repeat his message in literal terms. Bolingbroke has in fact given no pledge and taken no oath. Northumberland seeks merely to get possession of Richard, without committing his chief.

105. tomb; "The tomb of Edward III. is the first mentioned in our literature, viz. in this passage". (Cl. Pr. edd.)

109. The hand is finely singled out as that which wielded the sword, and thus symbolized Gaunt's warlike prowess. *Hand* is often used with this association in O. E. poetry (*e.g.* '*hond-gemòt*', hand-to-hand conflict).

112. scope, intention. See Glossary.

113. royalties; cf. note ii. 1. 190.

114. Enfranchisement, restoration to his rights as a free subject.

115. on thy royal party, on your side, as king.

116. commend, commit, hand over.

127. Here Northumberland is supposed to withdraw. He departs, as he arrived, without ceremony. He does not, of course, actually leave the stage, since Bolingbroke is throughout present in the foreground.

cousin; Prosody, I. § 3 (iii).

137. His failure in the scene with Northumberland wrings from him the first bitter sense of his incompetence in action.

lesser than my name, *i.e.* bore a lower name than that of king.—This outburst of shame and grief, without any change of *resolve*, prepares us for, and explains, his next fatal speech; see note to 143 f.

140. scope. See Glossary.

143 f. Richard, in his agitation, now loses his head and throws himself into his enemy's hand. By holding Bolingbroke to his word, he could have placed him in the dilemma of having either to disband his forces or to seize the king by violence. Instead, he offers the

resignation which Bolingbroke desires to receive but not to demand.— Yet his eloquence triumphs over the reader's provocation, and makes his abject surrender seem pathetic, not contemptible. Shakespeare, finely impartial as ever, takes equal pains to show us Richard's fatuity and to prevent our despising him for it.

146 f. The string of parallel clauses each conveyed in a single line is a favourite figure of Shakespearian rhetoric in this period. Cf. Constance's speech in *King John*, iii. 4. 26 f. So, in a lower vein, Marlowe, *Edward II.* p. 194—

"'T is not a black coat and a little band, ...  
Or holding of a napkin in your hand,  
Or saying a long grace at a table's end,  
Or making low legs to a nobleman,  
Can get you any favour with great men".

147. set of beads, *i.e.* a rosary.

149. Holinshed describes Richard as having been "exceedingly sumptuous in apparel", and as having had "one coat which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30,000 marks".

156. trade. See Glossary.

159. and buried once, an absolute clause without expressed subject: cf. "humour'd thus", iii. 2. 168.

160. Another of the delicate touches by which the charm of Richard is brought out. The rough and unamiable Aumerle shows devotion to no one else.

161–171. The slightest incident is instantly transmuted into bright imagery in Richard's artist-brain. Here, under the stimulus of sympathy, his quick fancy breaks loose from all control and swiftly evolves from those tears a whimsical little story, with an epitaph to close it.

168. therein laid; cf. note to line 159.

lies; the singular was commonly used after 'there', 'here,' before a plural noun. The French *il y a* with a plural is parallel only in meaning, not in grammar, since the logical subject which follows is grammatically the *object* of 'a'.

175. make a leg, *i.e.* an obeisance, used as a polite mode of assent, like our bow, but in character rather resembling the 'courtsey'. Cf. the amusing scene in Jonson's *Epicæne* (ii. 1), where Morose, the hater of noise, questions his servant Mute, who is strictly forbidden to *speak*: "Have you given him a key, to come in without knocking? [*M. makes a leg*].—Good. And is the lock oiled, and the hinges to-day? [*M. makes a leg*].—Good," &c.

176. base court. The *basse cour*, or outer (and often lower) courtyard of a castle, surrounded by the offices and stables.

178. like glistening Phaeton. In this splendid image we have the key to the Shakespearian Richard,—the bright, hapless charioteer, with his dazzling beauty and eloquence, and his incompetence to control the self-willed steeds of practical politics.—The whole brief speech vividly brings before us this view of the situation,—poetry breaking itself against hard facts.

184. [The scansion of this line?]

185. Makes; the sing., since 'sorrow and grief' form one idea.  
fondly, [the meaning?]

189. On the short line see Prosody, III. § 3 (i) 2. (p. 197).

192. Me rather had. This idiom has a somewhat complex origin. In M. E. there were two chief ways of expressing *preference*: (1) *me were lever*, (2) *I hadde lever*. From their identity of meaning they were often *mixed*; and further forms arose: (3) *I were lever* (we have "I am nought *leef* to gabbe" in Chaucer); and (4) *Me hadde lever*. Finally, the general equivalence of *lever* and *rather* in expressions of preference led to the substitution of *rather* in (4). For M. E. examples cf. Einkenel, *u.s.* p. 112. Abbott's explanation (§ 230) is incomplete.

195. Thus high (pointing to his head).

203. want, *i.e.* 'are devoid of', 'contain no remedy for the woes they bewail'.

204-5. Richard and Bolingbroke were, within a few months, of the same age (33) in 1399.

### Scene 4.

This scene does not carry the main action any further, but deepens the impression of what is already accomplished by showing us how the news of it is received. The passionate grief of the queen adds to the pathos of Richard's fall; but the gardener, who, while pitying him, admits his fate to be just, and the servant, who bitterly resents the harm he has done to England, show us that the nation already belonged to the new king. "How beautiful an islet of repose—a melancholy repose indeed—is this scene with the gardener and his servant." (Coleridge.)

Scene: *Langley*, &c. Capell first inferred from line 70, and ii. 2. 116 that the scene is intended to take place in the garden of the Duke of York's palace at Langley.

4. rubs. "In the game of bowls, when a bowl was diverted from its course by an impediment, it was said to rub." (Cl. Pr. edd.) 'Bias' was also a technical term in bowls (originally meaning *slant*, *oblique*), and "applied alike to the construction or form of the bowl imparting an oblique motion, the oblique line in which it runs, and the kind of impetus given to cause it to run obliquely". (Murray, *New English Dictionary*, s.v.)

7-8. measure, again a play upon the technical and the general senses of the word. See note to i. 3. 291.

11. joy, first proposed by Rowe for *grief*, the reading of all the Quartos and Folios, which no subtlety can reconcile with line 13.

15. being altogether had, 'wholly possessing me'.

22. *I.e.* 'I could sing for joy, if my grief were such as to be relieved by your weeping for it'.

28. woe is forerun with woe; *i.e.* sorrow heralds calamity. The queen states a view congenial to her brooding, apprehensive nature. Cf. her own anticipations, ii. 2.

29 f. The gardener and the servant are treated in a wholly abstract and symbolic way, which vividly contrasts with the genial realism of the 'lower' characters in *Henry IV*. This was no doubt favoured by the uniform use of verse in this play. Shakespeare commonly gives prose to characters of lower station: but a poetic *motif* always suffices to break down this rule (while, conversely, high-born characters, like Hotspur and Fauconbridge, can use verse even for the most colloquial jesting). Shakespeare, a lover of gardens, was keenly sensitive to their imaginative suggestions (cf. *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4). A somewhat similar scene occurs in *Richard III*. ii. 3, where 'two Citizens meeting' express the popular unrest and foreboding after the king's death, in poetic verse. On the murderers in *Macbeth* cf. note to v. 5. 113.

29. apricocks, the commoner form in E. E. of the name of the fruit *apricot*; the first from the Portuguese, the second from the French form of an Arabic word borrowed through the Greek from the Latin *praecoqua* (Skeat).

35. look too lofty, have too ambitious an air.

38. without profit, [to whom?]

40. pale, inclosure, *i.e.* the walled garden. See Glossary.

42. model. See Glossary.

43. Cf. ii. 1. 47.

46. knots, flower-beds arranged in intricate patterns; a practice characteristic of the artificial taste of the later sixteenth century. He means that the growth of weeds had obscured the pattern.

47. caterpillars. The 'servant' is felicitously made to resume Bolingbroke's term for the wasters of the land (ii. 3. 166); as, in line 43, that of Gaunt for England. This knits the present scene closer into the texture of the play.

49. This beautiful line touches Richard's fall with pathetic tenderness. The old gardener too feels his charm. For the thought cf. *Macbeth*, v. 3. 22, "My way of life Is fallen into the sear and yellow leaf".

57. **at time of year**, at the (proper) season. The definite article is often omitted before a substantive sufficiently defined by a following 'of'.

60. **it**, the tree.

**confound**, undo, destroy.

69. **doubt**, fear; the modern sense also occurs in E. E., but less commonly.

72. **press'd to death**, "the punishment of accused persons who refused to plead. It was known in French as the *peine forte et dure*, and consisted in placing heavier and heavier weights upon the chest." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

75. **suggested**; see note i. 1. 101. The queen, like Richard, speaks 'fondly', like one 'frantic'.

78. For the order cf. Kellner, § 466; Abbott, § 419. The idiom is commoner in E. E. than in M. E.

79. **Divine**, properly to use mysterious and preternatural means of knowledge. The word is appropriate to the queen, who also believes that the unknown future can be (i) prognosticated (ii. 2), (2) influenced by a curse (below, line 101).

83. **King Richard**, he. [Why the pronoun?]

**hold**, custody, a common sense of M. E. *hald*, *hold*; "pei dide him in hold" (they put him in custody), Manning. Cf. our 'stronghold'.

92. The pathos of the queen's position is heightened by her having to learn what 'every one doth know' from the lips of a gardener.

99. The Roman usages in victory and defeat,—the vanquished slaying themselves or being paraded in the victor's triumph,—fascinated Shakespeare's imagination, and he often makes allusions to them which the historic speakers would not have understood. The queen here recalls the Roman triumph. Macbeth recalls the resource of the Roman vanquished (v. 8. 1)—

"Why should I play the Roman fool, and die  
On mine own sword? whiles I see lives, the gashes  
Do better upon them".

So Horatio, snatching the poisoned cup (to avoid the ignominy, not of defeat, but of surviving his friend): "I'm more an antique Roman than a Dane: Here's yet some liquor left", *Hamlet*, v. 2. 352.

101. The queen departs with a last piteous outbreak of her bodeful superstitious nature.

104. **fall**, let fall, with the characteristically facile conversion of intrans. into trans. verbs in E. E. without change of form. In O. E. the change was effected by a suffix which changed the root vowel of the verb. Thus O. E. *feallan* (intrans.), *fiellan* (trans.), survive in Mod. E. *fall*, *fell*.



106. Rue, standing proverbially for 'ruth', and also known by the name of *herb of grace*. This passage is the best comment to Ophelia's words to the queen, *Hamlet*, iv. 5. 181.

## Act IV.—[The Dethronement.]

### Scene I.

This great and complex scene really comprises three successive actions: (1) the arraignment of Aumerle; (2) the protest of Carlisle against the deposition; (3) Richard's public surrender. (1) and (2) are founded on the chronicle, but followed instead of preceding Richard's former deposition; (3) is Shakespeare's invention, Richard not having been present at any meeting of Parliament. None of the three in reality advances the story: for the arraignment of Aumerle leads to nothing; Carlisle's protest is futile; and Richard's surrender is merely a performance in public of the essential act which had already taken place. But all three have dramatic value; they all serve to bring out the significance, political, moral, pathetic, of the revolution just effected: the first representing it as a Nemesis for past guilt; the second as a wrong, involving future bloodshed; the third as (whether right or wrong) a harrowing change of fortune.

*Westminster Hall.* The rebuilding of Westminster Hall, by Richard's orders, one of the memorable architectural achievements of the reign, was just complete, and the first meeting of Parliament in it was that in which the builder was deposed, on Sep. 30, 1399.

1-2. Short lines introductory to a speech or a subject. See *Prosody*, III. § 3 (i) 1. (a).

3. Thus the murder of Gloucester, the starting-point of the whole action, is again brought into the utmost prominence, as being the best justification of Richard's overthrow. By making the inquiry into it his first business, even before he is actually king, Bolingbroke gives moral dignity to his usurpation, and acquires that air of a great ruler who values justice above power, which is typified in Cæsar's "What touches us ourselves, shall be last served". The historical order of events (Aumerle was accused on Oct. 14) was evidently less favourable for this.

4. Who wrought, who joined with the king in effecting it.

5. *timeless*, untimely, *time* having the frequent sense of 'fit time', as in iii. 4. 57.

10. *dead time*, death-like, deadly, with evident reference to 'Gloucester's death'. Shakespeare elsewhere uses it in this sense, e.g. "So should a murderer look, so dead, so grim", *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. 2. 57.

15-16. Holinshed has "twenty thousand pounds".

17. *England*; three syllables. See Prosody, I. § 3 (i). This is frequent in the pre-Shakespearian drama, especially in Peele. In this case the M.E. form *Engeland* perhaps contributed to prolong the usage.

19. *this*, in apposition to *your cousin*.

21. *my fair stars*. 'Stars' is familiarly used in Shakespeare for 'fortune as fixed by birth', *i.e.* that unchangeable element in a man's destiny which comes to him by birth,—his blood or inherited rank. Thus the germ of truth in the astrological doctrine that a man's fate was fixed by the position of the stars at his birth, gradually detached itself. Hence, phrases like "baser stars", *All's Well*, i. 1. 97; "homely stars", *All's Well*, ii. 5. 80, for 'mean birth'.

25. *the manual seal of death*. Aumerle, with characteristic insolence, saves his pride by comparing the *gag* (see i. 1. 69) with which he challenges his low-born adversary to a warrant by which he secures his death.

28. *though being*; [the construction?]

29. *temper*. "The harder the steel the brighter polish would it take, hence the polish may be taken as a measure of its temper." (Cl. Pr. edd.)

33. Fitzwater's challenge took place, according to Holinshed, two days after Bagot's charge was made.

*If that*. Cf. Abbott, § 287.

*sympathy*; the word was loosely used by Shakespeare for 'equivalence', 'correspondence', *i.e.*, here, of rank. Shakespeare's use of Latin words usually suggests that he knew and felt their etymological sense (*e.g.* continent = 'that which contains'): his use of Greek words usually suggests that he did not know it. ("But though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek." Jonson, *To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare*.)

40. *rapier*. The commentators carefully point out that the rapier only came into use in England in the latter part of the 16th century. In Bulleyn's *Dialogue between Soarness and Chirurgi* (1579) the "long-foining rapier" is spoken of as "a new kind of instrument". Shakespeare was doubtless well aware of the fact, and very properly indifferent to it. Similarly, when Hotspur talks contemptuously of the "sword-and-buckler Prince of Wales", *1 Henry IV.* i. 3. 230, he speaks from the standpoint of Shakespeare's time, which held the rapier and dagger to be the only weapons for a gentleman.

49. *An if*. *An* is the modern form of the E.E. *and*, 'if', which is probably merely a special usage of the ordinary conjunction 'and'. From being used to introduce a hypothetical sentence, 'and' acquired itself a hypothetical sense. *An if* is a trace of the process,

before that sense had been definitely reached ; but in E. E. it is used simply as = if. It survives in the Somersetshire *nif*.

52. task the earth, *i.e.* charge it with the task of bearing my gage (which he flings down as he speaks). The high-flown language is in keeping with the conventional tone of the challenge, and with the 'holloa'd' of line 54.

55. From sun to sun, a good and universally accepted emendation of Capell's for the *from sinne to sinne* of the Quartos. The passage 52-9 is omitted in the Folios.

57. Who sets me else? 'who else challenges me to a game', properly 'lays down stakes'.

65. Dishonourable boy. "Fitzwater succeeded his father at the age of eighteen in 1386, and therefore was at this time thirty-one." (Cl. Pr. edd.) The term 'boy' is therefore insulting rather than descriptive. Cf. the magnificent outburst of Coriolanus when called 'Boy' by Aufidius.

" 'Boy!' false hound !

If you have writ your annals true, 't is there

That, like an eagle in a dove-cote, I

Flutter'd your Volscians in Corioli :

Alone I did it! 'Boy!' " *Coriolanus*, v. 6. 113-117.

67. vengeance and revenge. Shakespeare's use of these words elsewhere scarcely allows us to suppose that they are used in distinct senses here ; probably they are instances of the ceremonious or legal tautology already exemplified in *plot*, *complot*, i. 3. 189.

68. lie-giver and ; the *er* slurred before the vowel. See Prosody, I. § 3 (ii).

74. [Why 'in a wilderness'? Cf. i. 1. 63-6.]

78. in this new world, in this new state of things, new age. The original temporal sense of 'world' (O. E. *wer-eld*, 'age of men') is often approached in E. E. So, "the world to come" means 'future ages' in *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 2. 180.

88. Kreyssig suggests that Bolingbroke has already heard privately of Mowbray's death, and thus with the greater alacrity proposes his recal.

91-100. This picturesque account of Mowbray's exile and death was expanded by Shakespeare from a tradition, not found in Holinshed but recorded by Stow, that his death at Venice occurred "on his return from Jerusalem" (quoted Cl. Pr. edd.). It is pointedly put in the mouth of the bishop, who by thus celebrating the career of Bolingbroke's 'enemy', and, in particular, by line 99, which gives the lie to Bolingbroke's charge of treason, prepares us for the manly protest he is about to utter.

94. Streaming. Another instance of "the unparalleled freedom of the English language in using the same verb in an intransitive,

transitive, or causative and reflexive sense" (Kellner). This freedom was favoured at the outset (1) by the resemblance in *meaning*, (2) by partial identity in *form* of certain pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. *melten*, 'melt'; *belgan*, 'be angry' (Kellner, § 342). A group of verbs having once arisen in which transitive and intransitive senses were associated with the same form, served as a *pattern* on the model of which other verbs, transitive or intransitive, received the same extension of sense. The process had already begun in late O. E.

96. *toil'd*, wearied.

104 f. Here, as far as the play is concerned, the matter of Gloucester's death ends. This incompleteness marks, perhaps, the less sensitive conscience of the immature Shakespeare. The present scene leaves a strong presumption of Aumerle's guilt; but it is not definitely brought home to him, still less is he punished for it. Aumerle was, with Surrey, Exeter, and others, deprived of various titles and rights by this parliament. Aumerle's deprivation is, it is true, mentioned below (v. 2. 42-5), but it is attributed only to his having been 'Richard's friend'.

107-12. The loyalty of York is official, not personal. Richard having, by whatever means, been brought to resign the crown, York without effort transfers his 'lackey-like' allegiance. Touches like 'plume-plucked' prepare us for the otherwise amazing scenes, v. 2. and 3. At the same time, the complaisant attitude of the head of Richard's party makes more effective and dramatic the protest of Carlisle, 'worst in this royal presence'.

112. In both *Henry* and *fourth* an extra syllable may be developed from the *r*. Although this occurs in Shakespeare apparently only once in 'fourth' (and that where Shakespeare's authorship is not certain), *2 Henry VI.* ii. 2. 55, and seventeen times in 'Henry', the verse-rhythm makes it probable that *Henry-fou-rth* is meant. See Prosody, I. § 3 (iv).

114-149. Carlisle's speech, actually made three weeks after the deposition (Oct. 22), consists of two parts: lines 114-135, founded upon Holinshed, and built upon the plea that Richard could not justly be tried in his absence; and lines 136-149, the *prophecy*, which is original.

115. 'Though I who speak be the least worthy person present, yet I speak as one whom (being an ecclesiastic) it best becomes', &c.

116. *best beseeming me* is, grammatically, an absolute clause; logically it is the predicate of the principal sentence.

115, 117. *royal, noble*. Carlisle calls the assembly 'royal' in his opening words, thereby giving point and significance to his substitution of the epithet 'noble'.

124. *apparent*; cf. note to i. 1. 13.

131. heinous, hateful. *obscene*, like the Lat. *obscenus*, in the general sense, repulsive, odious.

137. This is the most distinct allusion in this play to the sequel.

140-1. 'Wars in which all the ties of family and race will be violated.' The words *kin* and *kind* are not always clearly distinguished in Shakespeare. *Kin* (O. E. *cynn*) originally meant 'kind', 'race', 'tribe'; *kind* (O. E. *ge-cynde*), 'nature'. The latter sense was, after Chaucer, more and more expressed by the word 'nature'; and *kind* tended to become confused with *kin*, a confusion fostered by the word *kindred* (O. E. *cyn-red*). In Shakespeare *kind* is often used of a more general bond than that of actual *relationship*; e.g. of *race*, *breed*, 'the Spartan kind (of hounds)'; and so probably here.

148. *resist*, probably to be scanned by apocope ('*sist*'), Abbott, § 460.

152. Holinshed says he was committed to the Abbot of St. Albans, not to the Abbot of Westminster. He was actually transferred to the latter Abbot from the Tower, but only some months later, June, 1400. (Cl. Pr. edd.)

155-7. Note how perfectly the unhistorical scene which follows is made to arise out of that which precedes. This is Bolingbroke's reply to Carlisle, as the previous speech (founded on Holinshed) is Northumberland's.

154-318. This part of the scene appeared for the first time in the Quarto of 1608. See Introduction. A slight change is made in line 319 in the earlier copies, to conceal the omission. "Bolingbroke: Let it be so, and loe on Wednesday next We solemnly proclaim", &c.

162f. Richard's opening words strike the key-note of the whole passage which follows, one of the most subtly imagined scenes in all Shakespeare. Throughout, he plays the part of one who can neither insist on his royal dignity nor resign it, who by his own consent no longer reigns, but has not yet 'shook off' his 'regal thoughts'. Richard is still possessed and dazzled by the idea of the kingship he has foregone; and his winsome fantastic figure thus stands out in delicate relief from the crowd of sturdy practical Englishmen around him, who respect ideas only when embodied in facts. The acceptance of Bolingbroke by England was in reality a triumph of the sense of practical needs over the abstract theory of kingship.

166. Richard shows the instinct of the great orator. Cf. the similar touch in Mark Antony's speech over Cæsar's body:

"Bear with me!

My heart is in the coffin there with Cæsar,  
And I must pause till it come back to me".

*Julius Cæsar*, iii. 2. 110.

170. This vivid touch betrays Richard's exalted conception of his office. For him the analogy between the Messiah and "the deputy elected by the Lord", and defended by his "glorious angels", was very real. Cf. lines 239-42.

181-9. Again at the stimulus of a simple incident (cf. iii. 3. 160) Richard starts off on a brilliant but irrelevant fancy-flight.

191-3. The true answer of the sentimentalist to the man of concrete facts. Richard hugs his emotions and treasures his pathos.

195f. The ambiguousness of the word *care* makes a ready opening for Richard's facile and somewhat boyish wit. 'My sorrow is the loss of the care brought about by the termination of my cares of office.' Bolingbroke bluntly recalls him (line 200) to the practical issue.

201. *no, ay*. 'Ay' was regularly written 'I', and both words (with *eye*) were frequently punned upon. 'I must not reply *ay* (I) since I am nothing; therefore (being nothing) I must not reply *no* (i.e. that I am *not* content to resign), because I do in fact resign.'

203. The prefatory announcement of the *artiste* about to perform.

206. Richard's eloquence inclines to this *parallelism* of phrases: cf. e.g. iii. 3. 147.

210. *duty's rites*, the ceremonies involved in the duteous behaviour of the subject to the sovereign.

215. *that swear*, a somewhat harsh ellipse for 'of those that swear'.

221. *sunshine days*. 'Sunshine' is not elsewhere used as an adj. in the unquestioned works of Shakespeare (cf. *3 Henry VI.* ii. 1. 187); but it occurs in Marlowe, *Edward II.* p. 212: "But what are kings when regiment is gone But perfect shadows in a sunshine day?"

222. This part of the program takes Richard by surprise, and for the moment quickens his luxurious and fancifully embroidered grief into a cry of sharp distress.

225. 'Against the existing condition, and contrary to the interests, of the country.'

226. *by confessing*, absolute phrase, the understood subject of 'confessing' being *you*.

232-3. *wouldst...shouldst*. Md. E. usage would invert these terms; but the E.E. usage is truer to the specific sense of both *will* and *shall*; 'will', 'wouldst' implying voluntary action, 'shall', 'shouldst' a necessary one. Thus 'should' is regularly used to express, as here, the necessary, though undesigned, consequence of a voluntary action.

236. Cf. note ii. 1. 64.

237. look upon; 'upon' an adv., like both 'up' and 'on' in Md. E.

239f. Cf. note to line 170.

246. sort. See Glossary.

262. Richard borrows this thought from the agony of Faustus's last moments: "O soul, be changed to little water-drops, And fall into the ocean, ne'er be found!" (Marlowe, *Faustus*, end.)

255-7. This probably alludes to the story, to which currency was given by the party of Bolingbroke, that Richard was not the son of the Black Prince but of a canon of Bordeaux, and that his real name was 'Jehan'. A contemporary French chronicle, *Le chronique de la traison et mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*, contains the following record of his condemnation: "It is decreed by all the prelates and lords of the council and of the commons of the kingdom...that Jehan of Bordeaux who was named King Richart of England is judged and condemned to be confined in a royal prison". (W. A. Harrison, in *Transactions of New Shakspeare Soc.* 1883.)

264. A metaphor from *coinage*, like 'current' in i. 3. 231.

267. his, [possessive of what?]

268. "Bolingbroke opposes to Richard's pseudo-poetic pathos the coldest, most annihilating humour...Richard cries in passionate excitement: 'An if my word', &c. Bolingbroke's answer, 'Go, some of you and fetch a looking-glass' recalls in manner the incomparable coolness of Falstaff's reply [in the character of the prince] to the indignant address of the prince [in the character of the king], 'Now, Harry, whence come you?'—'My noble lord, from Eastcheap'. (*1 Henry IV.* ii. 4. 483.)" (Kreyssig.)

271. Another touch which brings out Bolingbroke's absence of personal rancour against Richard. He aims at power, and is stern or clement as policy, not passion, determines.

276 f. This culminating passage, with the finely invented motive of the mirror, gives most poignant expression to Richard's mood. Overcome with the pathos of his lot he desires to see how the subject of it looks.

281-3. Again the expression shows how steeped Shakespeare's memory was in the splendid phrases of Marlowe. Cf. *Faustus* (the vision of Helen), "Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships?"

284-5. A touch which again, like 'glory' below, recalls the actual brilliance of Richard's appearance.

285. faced, 'braved', 'committed with assurance', but suggesting the further sense 'given lustre to, adorned'.

287-8. Richard, throwing himself into his part as usual, anti-



cipates in this symbolic act his own ruin, as he had anticipated (in act iii.) the demand for his surrender.

Note the felicity of the word *brittle* (O.E. *breót-an*, 'to break'), which was still, like 'frail', 'fragile', used of everything which exists by an uncertain tenure as well as of material things (like glass) liable to fracture.

292. *The shadow of your sorrow.* Not exactly, as Richard interprets, the external signs which image forth the inward sorrow; but the fit of puerile passion (as the self-contained Bolingbroke regards it) which has prompted him to dash the glass to the ground, and which is but the unsubstantial image of the genuine unhappiness of his lot, as the reflection was of his face. With admirable skill Richard in his reply uses the phrase to emphasize the intensity of his inner grief to which his outer gestures 'are merely shadows'.

305. One more coruscation of Richard's fantastic and irrelevant wit. But note the pointed irony of 'flatterer'.

308. *to my flatterer*; *to*, as often, 'as', 'in the capacity of'. Still extant in the phrase 'take to wife'.

315. *sights.* 'Sight' is used concretely for the individual vision, not for seeing power in general. Hence the plural. Similarly our (your) 'loves', for 'loving dispositions'.

316. As in line 268, Bolingbroke takes up Richard's passionate cry in its literal sense. His unfortunate use of the word 'convey' (see Glossary) is naturally seized upon with bitter zest by Richard, and turned into a parting shaft of scornful ridicule as he is led away. Shakespeare puns upon this sense of 'convey' (= steal) in a well-known passage, *Merry Wives*, i. 3. 32: "*Nym.* The good humour is to steal at a minute's rest. *Pist.* Convey, the wise it call."

321 f. The concluding lines of the act prepare for the conspiracy of act v. Aumerle and the Abbot are foreshadowed as its moving spirits, while Carlisle's words stamp him rather as one who, having delivered his protest, recognized the evil as beyond the scope of practical politics.

Note the value of the touch in line 332, which indicates that the scene just over has moved pity as well as resentment.

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### Act V.—[Death.]

The last act is the most composite, though decidedly the least powerful, of the five. It contains two distinct subjects: Richard's end, and the conspiracy of Aumerle. Its effect is to throw still further into the background the earlier career of both Richard and Bolingbroke. Richard's follies are forgotten in the spectacle of the 'fair rose withering' amid the scorn of the London populace. He

has now only to endure; Bolingbroke only to act and rule, which he does with his usual cool sagacity,—contemptuously clement to the weak Aumerle, ruthless to the more formidable conspirators. — Note the series of touches which serve to lead up to *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*, but have little significance in the present play : especially

(1) Richard's prophecy of Northumberland's defection (v. 1. 55 f.).

(2) Bolingbroke's description of Prince Henry (v. 3. 1-22), which foreshadows in little his whole career (*Henry IV.* and *V.*). Cf. especially the similar passage 1 *Henry IV.* i. 1. 78 f.

(3) The whole incident of the conspiracy can only be justified, dramatically, as a foretaste of the greater conspiracy which forms the serious subject of *Henry IV.*

### Scene 1.

This scene for the first time shows the King and Queen holding actual dialogue together. It is characteristic of the essentially political inspiration of Shakespeare's Histories that he only introduces love, as here, to enhance the pathos of the political catastrophe. A generation later we should have had a love-story interwoven with the feats of arms.

2. **Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower.** Shakespeare, fascinated by the personality of Cæsar, loses no opportunity of referring to this tradition. Cf. *Richard III.* iii. 1. 68, where the young Prince reluctantly enters the Tower precincts—

“I do not like the Tower, of any place.

Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?

*Buck.* He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;  
Which since succeeding ages have re-edified.

*Prince.* Is it upon record, or else reported  
Successively from age to age, he built it?

*Buck.* Upon record, my gracious lord.

*Prince.* But say, my lord, it were not register'd,  
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,  
As 't were retail'd to all posterity,  
Even to the general all-ending day”.

**ill-erected, built under bad auspices.**

3. **flint, hard, stern.**

11-15. The Queen's grief finds vent in a vein of high-wrought fancy congenial to Richard's own. Note again Shakespeare's care in bringing before us Richard's outer aspect, and the swift changes wrought by his impulsive temperament. “Shakespeare seems to have introduced [the scene] here mainly to show how *Richard*, deprived of his crown, has become, even to the eyes of those most intimate with him, a changed man.” (Ransome.)

11. the model...stand, 'thou bare outline of thy past glory'. Troy typifies greatness and splendour suddenly ruined.

12. map of honour; 'map' similarly for 'outline' or 'skeleton'.

13. most beauteous inn, 'most stately abode'. 'Inn', properly any shelter: thence, a place of entertainment. The word is probably used in its modern sense;—Richard, the stately hostel where grief lodges, being contrasted with the exulting populace which the queen sees around her. It may be that in 'alehouse' she intends to insinuate a parallel reference to Bolingbroke. This sense of *inn* appears from Beaumont and Fletcher's imitation in *The Lover's Progress*, v. 3 (quoted Cl. Pr. edd.)—

" 'Tis my wonder,  
If such misshapen guests as lust and murder  
At any price should ever find a lodging  
In such a beauteous inn".

14. hard-favour'd, 'with harsh unpleasing features'.

16 f. As Richard had accepted the rôle of deposed king before deposition, so now he finds without effort a poetic and picturesque stand-point to view it from. He has awakened from a dream; he is sworn-brother to Necessity;—he will accept the constraint imposed upon him as the summons of a sworn comrade. Prof. Dowden well contrasts Bolingbroke's way of dealing with necessity. "Henry does not personify Necessity, and greet it with this romantic display of fraternity; but he admits the *inevitable fact*... 'Are these things then necessities? Then let us meet them like necessities'." [2 *Henry IV.* iii. 1. 92–3.] (*Shakespeare*, p. 209.)

18. 'Awakening from our dream, we find that our real condition is but this.'

20. sworn brother, an allusion to the 'fratres jurati' of chivalry:—warriors who bound themselves to share each other's fortune. A relic of this is the German custom of '*Bruderschaft*' by which two friends assume (with the aid of certain formalities) the intimacy of brothers.

24. Our holy lives. Richard's designs for his own future and for that of his queen differ only in terms: the one (lines 20–2) is martial, the other monastic, in expression: but both imply pacific acquiescence.

new world, heaven; not as in iv. 1. 78, 'new state of things'.

26. This outburst illustrates the difference between the Queen's temper and Richard's even where, as at ii. 2. 68 (see note), she seems to fall into his mood and speak his language. She had there refused to yield to 'cozening hope': and here she upbraids Richard, not for resigning hope,—she herself has none,—but for lacking the noble rage of despair.

28. hath he been in thy heart. A vigorous way of suggesting that Bolingbroke has penetrated not merely to Richard's throne but to his heart, and expelled the 'courage' of which the heart is the seat. The Cl. Pr. edd. strangely suggest that the line is corrupt and that Shakespeare wrote "something of this sort: 'Deposed thine intellect, benumb'd thy heart'". The latter expression, at least, he was incapable of writing.

29. The image perhaps suggested by that which Marlowe's Edward uses of himself—

"When the imperial lion's flesh is gor'd,  
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,  
And, highly scorning that the lowly earth  
Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air:  
And so it fares with me", &c.

Marlowe, *Edward II.* p. 212.

Cf. also, of Antony in his fall—

"*Enob.* 'T is better playing with a lion's whelp  
Than with an old one dying".

—*Antony and Cleopatra*, iii. 13. 94.

31. To be o'erpower'd, at being.

34. This recalls with unconscious irony Richard's own boast, i. 1. 174.

40–50. Richard's imagination, continually occupied with the effectiveness of the part he plays, carries him on to the thought of the future hearers whom his sufferings will move. The feebleness of the speech, and especially the childish touch in line 49, tend to justify the queen's doubt in lines 26–8.

43. to quit their griefs, 'to requite (or cap) their tragic tales'. See Glossary: *quit*.

46. sympathize, enter into, share the feeling of. The literal sense of 'like-feeling' is in Shakespeare generally lost in the sense of 'correspondence', 'agreement' in general.

51. The bluntness of Northumberland is as usual (cf. especially line 69) contrasted with the ironical deference of Bolingbroke. Cf. also iii. 3. 72.

61. helping him to all, absolute clause. [The subject?]

66. converts, intrans.: 'changes', a common E. E. usage.

68. worthy, deserved, merited.

74–5. The kiss formerly played an important part in ceremonial usage. It was an act of courtesy between partners at a dance (cf. *Henry VIII.* i. 4. 95: "I were unmannerly to take you out And not to kiss you"); and early in the century also between the guest and his hostess. It was also part of the marriage-rite. —The process of *can-*

*celling* a rite consisted, normally, in inverting it. A mutual kiss, however, can be inverted only by repeating it. Richard thinks of the kiss under the former aspect in line 74, under the latter in line 75.

77. pines, transitive; elsewhere in Shakespeare intrans. The trans. sense is however the original (O.E. *pinian*), and both are common in M. E. See Glossary.

78. The wedding expedition had been, in fact, one of the most conspicuous instances of Richard's reckless extravagance.

80. Hallowmas, Nov. 1,—the nominal beginning of winter, but in Shakespeare's day, as the Cl. Pr. edd. note, ten days nearer to the winter solstice than now.

88. 'Better to be far apart than to be near and yet unable to meet.' On *near* for 'nearer' cf. iii. 2. 64.

89–100. Richard and Queen separate with a profusion of that wayward fancy in which both are rich. That it is deliberate character-drawing, and not merely a Shakespearian mannerism, is shown by Richard's words, "we make woe wanton": cf. the same expression at iii. 3. 164;—also ii. 1. 84.

102. the rest...say, 'let grief, not words, express the rest'.

## Scene 2.

The scene consists of two parts: (1) *narrative*, the description of the entry into London; (2) *dramatic*, the discovery of Aumerle's plot. The *first* is fictitious, in so far as Richard's conveyance to the Tower and Bolingbroke's entry into London did not occur on the same day. Nothing, however, could be more felicitously imagined than this brilliant pair of portraits of the rival kings; in which Richard acquires something of the distinction of persecution meekly borne, while Bolingbroke's astute complaisance has something of the vulgarity of popular success. The *second* part (lines 46–117) is fictitious in so far as the Duchess of York is represented as the mother (instead of the stepmother) of Aumerle. This change was perhaps deliberately made with a view to the part she is made to play in this and the following scene. As they stand, these scenes approach the verge of the grotesque: they would have passed it, had the Duchess' zeal for Aumerle lacked the excuse of motherhood.—It is unlikely, however, that Shakespeare knew that the Duchess was in reality young, and the niece of Richard.

2. Again the pitifulness of Richard's lot is heightened by the mention of the tears it excites. Cf. iii. 3. 160; iv. 1. 332.

4. Perhaps a mark of York's age, which is elsewhere insisted on (ii. 2. 74). Cf. Polonius; losing the thread in his instructions to Reynaldo: "By the mass, I was about to say something: where did I leave? *Rey.* At 'closes in the consequence'...*Pol.* At 'closes in the consequence'. Ay, marry." (*Hamlet*, ii. 1. 50.)

8. Note the use subsequently made of this horse, 'roan Barbary', —v. 5. 67 f.

9. The spirited horse instinctively felt that it bore a spirited rider.

15-16. The words with painted imagery are grammatically ambiguous; they may refer either to what was actually there, or only (as the Cl. Pr. edd. assert) to what 'you would have thought' to be there. Grounds of style, however, point decidedly to the former. The six lines 12-17 consist of two items of description, each made up of one actual feature (the windows crowded with faces, and the walls with painted imagery), and one imaginary feature (the *speaking* of the windows and the walls). The allusion is to figured tapestry or *arras*.

We have other descriptions of the passage of a popular favourite through crowded streets in *Julius Caesar*, i. 1 (of Pompey), *Coriolanus*, ii. 2. 221 (of Coriolanus). The three passages were probably written at intervals of seven or eight years (say 1593, 1600, 1607), and are valuable for the study of the phases of Shakespeare's style.

18 f. This carries on the trait indicated at i. 4. 24-36.

20. *Bespake*, addressed. See Glossary.

37. York disguises his timidity under the mask of a vague piety.

38. 'To whose will we limit our desires, which will acquiesce in the limitation.' Calm contents is proleptic.

40. allow, approve, accept.

41. Aumerle was deprived of that title by Henry's first parliament, and remained Earl of Rutland.

46. 'Who are the favourites of the new court?'

50. Cf. the phrase the 'new world' in iv. 1. 78.

52. triumphs. In Md. E. the word is only *concrete* when it means the triumphal processions of ancient Rome; in E. E. it is used also for any public festivity, especially a *tournament*, e.g. "at a triumph, having vowed to show his strength", *1 Henry VI.* v. 5. 31.

65. bond; cf. i. 1. 2 and Glossary.

81. The use of the noun *peace* in commanding silence, i.e. as a quasi-imperative, led to the occasional use of the word as a verb = 'be silent'; e.g. "When the thunder would not peace at my bidding", *King Lear*, iv. 6. 104.

90. "York had at least one more son, Richard, who appears as Earl of Cambridge in *Henry V.*" (Cl. Pr. edd.)

91. teeming date, period of child-bearing.

98. interchangeably set down their hands. The usage was for an indenture to be drawn up which was divided into as many parts as there were conspirators; each keeping one, and each attach-

ing his signature to each part, so that every member at once gave security for his good faith to the rest, and received security for theirs to him.

### Scene 3.

*A royal palace.* This was actually Windsor.

1. **unthrifty**, (1) recklessly wasteful, (2) worthless, good for nothing. Prince Henry was at the time twelve years old. Cf. 'thrifless' applied by York to Aumerle below (line 69). A parallel was doubtless intended between the situation of the two fathers.

7. **unrestrained**, licentious, lawless.

9. **passengers**, passers-by.

10-12. 'As to which he makes it a point of honour to stand by his companions, dissolute as they are.'

10. **which**, loosely referring to the whole previous statement.

**wanton**, probably a noun.

20. The two adjectives sum up the two characteristics of the prince suggested by lines 16-19 and 6-12 respectively. The following lines are important since they show that Shakespeare had already conceived the prince's character in the germ, as he afterwards represented it, *i.e.* as intrinsically noble from the first, not (with the chroniclers) as undergoing a sudden reformation upon his father's death.

34. **If on the first**, probably to be explained, with Schmidt, by ii. 3. 107, "On what condition?" 'If your fault stands on the first condition, is of the former nature.'

36. Shakespeare's authority described Aumerle as locking the gates of the castle on his entrance. By substituting the chamber-door Shakespeare gets an opening for a little dramatic by-play otherwise impossible (36-45). Note how ingeniously Shakespeare continues throughout thus to fill with dramatic detail the bare and simple outlines of his plot.

43. **secure**, unsuspecting of danger.

44. 'Shall I, out of devotion to you, openly speak treason to you (by calling you foolhardy)?'

49 f. "No sharper satire was ever written upon the unnerving influence of a life passed in the pursuit of princes' favour, than the scene in which the old courtier denounces his son, in order that the king's anger may not fall upon his old head. [He had made himself responsible for Aumerle, lines 44-5.] For it is obvious that we have to do here with no *Brutus*, with no manly self-sacrifice to iron duty." (Kreysig.) ♡

54. **villain, ere**. See Prosody, I. § 3 (ii).



57. Forget; cf. v. 51.

61. sheer, clear, pure. O.E. *scr*, 'bright'. Used therefore with special felicity of running water.

66. digressing, diverging from the right, transgressing.

67 f. This complaint has a sting for Bolingbroke, who, after his own lament, lines 1 f., inevitably applies it to his own case.

79 f. Bolingbroke's words at once prepare us for the almost farcical scene which follows, and indicate his own perception that the matter was, as regards Aumerle, no longer serious. With contemptuous irony he bids his 'dangerous' cousin open the door for his mother.

80. A reference to the title (hardly to the subject) of the ballad of *King Cophetua and the Beggar-maid*, repeatedly mentioned by Shakespeare (e.g. *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 1. 66).

88. 'Love which is cold to kindred can be loving to none; i.e. if York hates Aumerle, he will hate you.'

92. Bolingbroke does not concern himself to seriously interrupt this voluble stream of words, but merely interposes his 'good aunt, stand up', &c., at intervals.

94. the happy, sing. adj. as substantive. Cf. Kellner, *u.s.* § 241.

101. An Alexandrine. Prosody, III. § 3 (ii).

119. "This execrable line", says Prof. Dowden, "would never have been admitted by the mature Shakespeare." Perhaps not; nor would the present scene as a whole, with the farcical tone of which, it harmonizes well enough.—The French *pardonne(s)-moi* for 'excuse-me', a polite way of declining a request, was familiar in English, like 'grammercy'. Cf. Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, iv. p. 172: "*Ithamore*. Play fiddler, or I'll cut your cat's guts into chitterlings. *Barabas* (disguised as a French musician) *Pardonnez-moi*, be no in time yet." In *Edward II.* p. 185 we have the English equivalent: "*Bishop*. ... Thou shalt back to France. *Gaveston*. Saving your reverence, you must pardon me".

For the sonant -e, cf. Abbott, § 489.

124. chopping, 'changing', altering the senses of words. The Duchess takes a thoroughly English view of the mental agility to which French owes its wonderfully subtle developments of word-meaning. A French critic has contrasted it more favourably with the relative immobility of English. "The French mind, more lively than the English, permits itself to be carried away by delicate resemblances and loves to follow the windings of subtle analogies." (Arsène Darmesteter, *La Vie des Mots*, p. 104.)

128. rehearse, commonly used in E.E. in the loose sense: 'recite', 'say aloud'.

137. Henry's contemptuous mildness to Aumerle is contrasted with his energetic rigour to the other conspirators. His 'trusty

brother-in-law' was John, Earl of Huntingdon, degraded like Aumerle by the parliament from his higher title (Duke of Exeter).

140. *several*, as usual in E. E., 'distinct,' 'separate'.

144. *too* is not found in any edition before 1634.

146. *old*. With reference to Aumerle's still unregenerate condition, which she hopes to reform.

#### Scene 4.

\* Compare with this narrative scene the *dramatic* treatment of the same motive in *King John*, iii. 3. 60 f.

*K. John*. Thou art his keeper.

*Hubert*. And I'll keep him so

That he shall not offend your majesty.

*K. John*. Death.

*Hub*. My lord?

*K. John*. A grave.

*Hub*. He shall not live.

*K. John*. Enough. I could be merry now", &c.

1. Holinshed states that Exton overheard these words while in attendance upon the king at table.

7. *wistly*. The word was probably formed from M. E. *wisliche*, 'certainly', 'definitely'; whence the sense 'fixedly', 'steadily', of gazing. It was probably influenced by the word *wish*, which developed the sense of a *longing* gaze. Hence the spelling *wishtly* in this place in Q 1, Q 2.

8. *As who should say*. The indefinite pron. *who*. Cf. Abbott, § 257.

#### Scene 5.

The scene consists of three parts: Richard's monologue; the dialogue with the groom; and that with the keeper and Exton. All three add final touches to the portrait of Richard. The first shows his bearing in calamity,—fantastic, but without a touch of penitence; the second enforces once more his personal charm by showing the love he aroused in his retainers; the third shows the kingly dilettante snatched out of his sentimentality, as Hamlet out of his will-dissolving thought by the stimulus of imminent ruin, and satisfying the æsthetic demand for a noble end by dying more heroically than he has lived.

1-66. "The soliloquy...might almost be transferred, as far as tone and manner are concerned, to one other personage in Shakespeare's plays,—to Jaques. The curious intellect of Jaques gives him his distinction. He plays his parts for the sake of understanding the world in his way of superficial fool's wisdom. Richard plays his parts to possess himself of the æsthetic satisfaction of an amateur in life, with a fine feeling for situations." (Dowden.) "Richard is so

steeped in voluptuous habits that he must needs be a voluptuary even in his sorrow, and make a luxury of woe itself; pleasure has so thoroughly mastered his spirit that he cannot think of bearing pain as a duty or an honour, but merely as a licence for the pleasure of maudlin self-compassion." (Hudson: *Shakespeare: his Life, &c.*, quoted by Dowden, *Shakespeare*, p. 203.)

1 f. Richard's mental occupation in prison is, characteristically, not *reflection*, either on his past or on his future; but an ingenious exercise of fancy; an attempt to solve a *conundrum*, to find a resemblance between the world and his prison.

3. for because; either word could be used alone in this sense in E. E.; both are often combined. Cf. *an if*.

8. still-breeding. [Force of 'still'?

9. this little world. The conception of *man* as a 'microcosm', or epitome of the universe, or great world, was familiar in Shakespeare's day as the basis of the astrological belief in a correspondence between the movements of the planets and the fortunes of men. There is thus special felicity in Richard's use of the phrase to mean the *mind* with its population of thoughts.

10. humours. The word meant (1) one of the four essential fluids of the body which, according as each preponderated, produced the *sanguine*, *choleric*, *melancholy*, or *phlegmatic* temperament; thence (2) any marked peculiarity of disposition or eccentricity of taste. Cf. the distinction drawn by Jonson, *Induction to Every Man out of his Humour*, between the 'true' sense, viz.—

"when some one peculiar quality

Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw  
All his effects, his spirits, and his powers,  
In their confluents all to run one way",

and the *popular* sense—

"Now if an ideot

Have but an apish and fantastic strain,  
It is his humour".

It was specially applied to mental inclinations, proceeding from conditions of body rather than of mind, and thus apparently irrational and capricious. In this sense Richard compares his thoughts, which never find satisfaction, to the restless agitation of humours.

13. The thought of divine things only discloses the conflicts in scriptural evidence.

17. needle, frequently pronounced *neeld*, as here. So in Du. *naald*. The same metathesis took place in O. E. *seld* < *set-l*, *bold* < *bod-l*.

18 f. Ambitious thoughts generate equally unsatisfying fancies.

21. ragged, used in the sense of 'rugged', as often.

23 f. Even thoughts 'tending to content' obtain only 'a kind of case'.

25. silly, simple.

26. refuge, find comfort for their shamed condition in the thought that, &c.

31. Thus play I, &c. Observe the distinction between the two phases of thought which this line links together. Richard has given three instances of *thoughts* which evolve trains of fancy without finding content. He goes on to give three instances of the reaction produced by that discontent (from kingship to beggary, &c.). His wayward fancy is quite compatible with clear and ordered thought.

41-66. The sound of music launches Richard into the most elaborate and abstruse of his fancy-flights.

46. check, rebuke.

47 f. Once more Richard achieves recognition of his follies in the process of pursuing a fancy. But the recognition calls up no remorse. Yet this application of the 'broken music' he hears is fine and subtle.

50-60. This is an expansion of the fancy, "now doth time waste me", *i.e.* by making me his clock. Richard compares his threefold expression of grief to the clock's threefold expression of time; viz. (1) his *sighs* to the 'jarring' of the pendulum which, at the same time that it 'watches' or numbers the seconds, marks also their progress in minutes on the dial or outward-watch, to which the king compares his eyes; (2) his *tears* (continually wiped away by his finger, 'like a dial's point') to the indication of time by the progress of the 'minute-hand'; (3) his *groans* to the bell which strikes the hour. (Based on *Henley*.)

60. Jack o' the clock. An automatic metal figure, frequent in old clocks, made to strike the bell with a hammer at the hour or quarters. 'Paul's Jack', *i.e.* in the bell of St. Paul's, was well known.—'The time, tho' nominally mine, brings joy only to Bolingbroke, while I am reduced to the menial office of marking its divisions.'

62. Richard probably refers to the Biblical tradition of the cure of Saul by David. No one could have written the line who was not profoundly sensitive to music. Marlowe's Edward, like Richard, loves music ("Gaveston: ... I must have ... Musicians, that with touching of a string May draw the pliant king which way I please; Music and poetry is his delight"); but no subtle use of the fact is made as here.

help, the past part. without its termination *-en*; used in E. E. also for the preterite.

64-6. This hint of the affection felt for Richard aptly precedes the entrance of the faithful groom.

66. brooch, a buckle worn by way of ornament in the hat. 'Love to Richard is a strange ensign to wear in this all-hating world'; a vivid and beautiful image, which suggests characteristically that such love was a graceful ornament to him who showed it.

67. Thanks, noble peer. With ironical self-mockery. A similar formality to a dependent is elsewhere used playfully, as by Portia to her servant ("Serv. Where is my lady?—Port. Here; what would my lord?" *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 9. 85), and Prince Hal to the Hostess, *1 Henry IV.* ii. 4. 14 (referred to by Cl. Pr. edd. and Deighton). On the metre see Prosody, III. § 3 (i) 2. (p. 197).

68. A pun upon the coins 'royal' ('rial') and 'noble'; the former worth 10 shillings, the latter 6s. 8d. The 'cheapest of us', i.e. the 'noble', was thus nominally worth twenty groats (20 × 4 pence); but both have so far descended in the world, that, says Richard, the 'noble' is actually worth only half that sum. A saying of the queen had made this joke popular. Tollet quotes the story thus: "Mr. John Blower, in a sermon before her majesty, first said: 'My royal Queen', and a little after 'My noble Queen'. Upon which says the Queen: 'What, am I ten groats worse than I was?'" A similar pun occurs in *1 Henry IV.* ii. 4. 317.

70-1. Note that Shakespeare has avoided any suggestion of the physical horrors which Marlowe has accumulated about his Edward II. The tradition of Richard's having been starved to death provided an opening for it. Cf. *Edward II.* p. 216:

"King. This usage makes my misery increase.  
But can my air of life continue long,  
When all my senses are annoy'd with stench?  
Within a dungeon England's king is kept,  
Where I am starv'd for want of sustenance;  
My daily diet is heart-breaking sobs,  
That almost rent the closet of my heart:...  
O water, gentle friends, to cool my thirst,  
And clear my body from foul excrements!"

76. yearn'd, grieved. This verb commonly written 'erne' in the old editions (so here *ern'd* in all editions before the First Folio), and derived, through M. E. *erne* (Chaucer) from O. E. *ierman* (< *earn*, 'miserable' was in E. E. confused with *yearn* (from O. E. *georn-ian*, 'desire') and so written *yerne*.

78-80. "This incident of roan Barbary is an invention of the poet. Did Shakespeare intend only a little bit of helpless pathos? Or is there a touch of hidden irony here? A poor spark of affection remains for Richard, but it has been kindled half by Richard and half by Richard's horse." (Dowden, *Shakespeare*, p. 204.)

94. jauncing, a term of horsemanship in keeping with those that precede (see Glossary).

95f. The remainder of the scene closely follows the account of Holinshed.

100-1. The couplet, printed as prose, was probably written as verse, the second line perhaps beginning 'Came lately'. See note to ii. 2. 98-122.

113f. Shakespeare habitually softens the brutality of murder and brings it in some sort into the sphere of poetry, either by giving a certain refinement and beauty to the character of the murderer (as in *Macbeth*, where the 'murderers' are men "weary with disasters, tugg'd with fortune", iii. 1. 112; cf. scene 3), or by making them repent after the deed (as in *Richard III.* i. 4. 278-286 (the second murderer of Clarence); iv. 3. 1-20 (Tyrrel's description of the murderers of the princes); and here.

### Scene 6.

The scene consists of three divisions, each in appearance contributing to seal the success of the new king. The conspiracy has been sternly put down; the Abbot of Westminster, 'the grand conspirator', has died; and finally Richard, the 'buried fear', has been removed. The last, though seemingly the climax in the ascending scale of triumph, at once changes the key to a tragic minor, and the drama closes on a solemn and bodeful note which leaves us mindful of Carlisle's prophecy that the 'woes are yet to come'.

8. Spencer. The Quartos give *Oxford*, perhaps written originally through an oversight, no such conspirator being mentioned by Holinshed or elsewhere. Nothing seems gained, in such a case, by rejecting the Folios' correction given in the text.

22. *abide*, 'endure', 'undergo', a common sense of O.E. *abīdan*; not to be confused with *abide* = 'to pay for' (with the *offence* as object), in the phrase 'dear abide it', from O.E. *ā-byrgan*, M.E. *a-bien*, thence through the analogy of meaning *abide*.

24 f. The pardon of Carlisle once more emphasizes Bolingbroke's freedom from malignity.

30 f. Compare the more elaborate version of the same motive in *King John*, iv. 2. 203 f; and with Bolingbroke's reply, that of John (lines 208 f):

"It is the curse of kings to be attended  
By slaves that take their humours for a warrant  
To break within the bloody house of life,  
And on the winking of authority  
To understand a law,...

*Hub.* Here is your hand and seal for what I did", &c.

But John draws back out of fear; Bolingbroke out of genuine penitence for his rashness.

32. Exton, who embodies a wish in an action, clothes the report of it in extravagant phrases.

40. Thus Bolingbroke himself admits at last the charm of his fallen rival.

48. *incontinent*, immediately.

49. This forms the motive of the opening scene of *Henry IV.*

# OUTLINE

OF

## SHAKESPEARE'S PROSODY.

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INTRODUCTORY.—‘Blank verse’, the normal metrical form of the Elizabethan drama, is a rhythmic sequence of (commonly) five stressed and five unstressed syllables, commonly alternating without rhyme. Its principal source of effect lies in the intrinsic beauty of the *rhythm*, of which there were many recognized and varied types found in all the dramatists, and many others specially characteristic of one or other of them. To the full appreciation of these rhythms the only guide is a fine ear. But since they are based upon, and largely controlled by, the natural rhythm of the words as pronounced and accented in ordinary speech, the study of this is both the best preparation, and the first condition, of the comprehension of Shakespeare’s verse. Thus, a verse is felt to be *rough*, if the ten syllables on which it is built, and the five stresses which it distributes among them, depart beyond a certain degree from the number of syllables customarily pronounced in the given words, and their common accentuation; that is, if the *rhythm* can only be had at the cost of unrecognized contractions or expansions, or of laying *stress* where there is no natural *accent*. But in Elizabethan talk, there was still greater elasticity than now, as to the treatment both of *syllables* and of *accents*; syllables now slurred only in dialect were suppressed, in rapid talk, by choice speakers; others now always contracted into one (e.g. the termination *-tion*) were often treated as two (see below, I. § 4); while the *accent*, fixed in the simple word, could be shifted readily from one syllable to another, in many *compounds* and *derivatives*. The two following sections will describe the *material* of Shakespeare’s verse, as it was affected by (1) syllabic variation, (2) accent variation. The third will describe the *verse structure* itself.

### I. SYLLABIC VARIATION.

§ 1. A syllable consists of a *vowel* or *vowel-like* (i.e. *l, m, n, r*) together with such neighbouring *consonants* as can be pronounced with the same continuous effort.<sup>1</sup> Hence a change in the number

<sup>1</sup> For a more precise account of the *syllable* see Sievers’ *Phonetik*, § 26 f, a classic which should be in the hands of every student of versification. Also Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 19 f. The term ‘vowel-like’ is borrowed from the latter.



of syllables in a word means a change in the number of separate efforts required to pronounce it. This may come about in various ways. Sometimes an entire syllable is dropped, or inserted; more often, two groups of sounds pronounced by separate efforts are made continuous, or a continuous group is broken up into two. The syllable thus lost or gained is always without accent.

There are three principal cases: (1) *vowel + consonant*; (2) *vowel + vowel-like*; (3) *vowel + vowel*. All of them are abundantly exemplified in Elizabethan pronunciation, double forms of a word often existing side by side, the one supported by *phonetic instinct*, the other by *tradition*. In what follows, a circle under a 'vowel-like' (*l*, *r*, &c.) is used to mark that it has *syllabic value*; a dot under any letter (*e*), that it is suppressed or slurred.

## § 2. Vowel and Consonant.

A vowel is often lost before a consonant, in any situation.

### (i) *At the beginning of a word.*

This especially affected the prefixes of Romance words, and was an ingrained habit of M. E. Hence such double forms as *'stroy—destroy*, *'stonish—astonish*, &c. (Abbott, § 460); and probably *'nointed*. (iii. 2. 55) with *anointed* (i. 2. 38, &c.); *'sist* (iv. 1. 148) with the common *resist*.

It was also very common in unemphatic monosyllables, like *it*, as, *for't*, *on't* (still known to good talkers in the eighteenth century, see Boswell's *Johnson, passim*): so "I'll hammer't (it) out" (v. 5. 5). So we still use *'s* for *is*, *has*, *us*.

### (ii) *At the end of a word.*

This (except in the cases described below) belongs chiefly to Shakespeare's later plays, where it becomes common, as in this line, written in 1607-8:

Even to *th'* court, the heart, to *th'* seat o' *th'* brain.—*Coriolanus*, i. 1. 135.

It is chiefly found in *the* (compare the present North-Midland dialectic *th' lad*, *th' man*, &c.<sup>1</sup>), mostly after a vowel. In *Coriolanus* it occurs 105 times, in our play 3 times: e.g. "Jack o' th' clock" (v. 5. 60).

In some common words a final *-y* was either partially suppressed, or became the consonantal *y*: e.g. *marry* (i. 4. 16); *Harry* (iii. 3. 20) (both monosyllabic); so elsewhere, *busy*. In Chaucer *Caunterbury* appears to be so treated.

### (iii) *Within a word.* ['Syncope.']

This takes place in a variety of cases.

(a) *in the inflexion.* The unaccented *e* of the verb and noun inflexions was in the sixteenth century gradually becoming suppressed (where no sibilant preceded). The process was, however, much more advanced in some of them than in others. We can divide these inflexions into three *strata*, or *layers*, in the first of

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, *E. Eng. Pronunciation*, vol. v. (D. 21, &c.).

which it is virtually complete in Shakespeare's time, in the second far advanced, in the third incipient or partial. Thus:

(a) *-es* (3 pers. sing.), *-es* (gen. sing.). A few traces of the latter occur in early plays; but no case of the former is found in undoubtedly Shakespearian work. *Knockè's* (1 *Henry VI.* i. 3. 5), *provokè's* (2 *Henry VI.* iv. 7. 98) need not be Shakespeare's. We must therefore by no means admit *mistakè's* in our play (iii. 3. 9) (with Abbott). It is accounted for by the pause (cf. below, iii. § 4).

(β) *-eth*, *-est*. Contraction is here practically universal in the later plays, and common in our play. The examples of *non-contraction* are 6·1 of the whole in 2 *Henry VI.*, 2·6 in 1 *Henry IV.*, and 4·6 in our play:<sup>1</sup> e.g. *appearèth* (i. 1. 26), *lièth* (i. 2. 4), *comèst* (i. 3. 33).

In the superlative, *-est* is oftener retained, and always in the early plays. But we have *short'st* (v. 1. 80), *common'st* (v. 3. 17), and, in the same line, *strong'st* and *surest* (iii. 3. 201).

(γ) *-ed* (past tense and participle).

The uncontracted forms, e.g. in *redoubled* (i. 3. 80), *fosterèd* (i. 3. 126).

(δ) *in the last but one syllable*.

Words of three syllables with an accent on the first and a secondary accent on the third, often suppressed the unaccented second, wholly or partially. This was commonest where a vowel-like preceded or followed the unaccented vowel (see below, § 3), but also happened in other cases. It has become fixed in such words as *Leicester*, *business*.

So: *prodigal* (iii. 4. 31), but *pròdigal* (i. 3. 256); *Worcester* (ii. 3. 22), but *Wórcestèr* (ii. 2. 58); *majesty* (iii. 2. 113, 3. 70, &c.), but *májesty* (ii. 1. 295).

### § 3. Vowel and 'Vowel-like'.

Much more various and interesting are the syllabic variations arising from the relation of vowels to 'vowel-likes'. The letters *l*, *m*, *n*, and probably *r* stood in Elizabethan English, as in ours, for two ways of using each sound. Each might (and may) have the function either of a *consonant* (combining with a vowel) as in 'ball', or of a *vowel* (combining with a consonant) as in 'bauble' (= baubl̩).<sup>2</sup> We have examples of both in the word 'little' (i.e. 'lit̩').

Through this doubleness of nature we easily see how the presence of a vowel-like may quite alter the syllabic quality of a word. We must distinguish the following different cases:—

(i) *By passing from its consonant (non-syllabic) to its vowel (syllabic) value, the 'vowel-like' may form a new syllable.*

<sup>1</sup> König, *Vers in Shakespeares Dramen*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The syllabic *l*, *m*, *n* are expressly recognized by the orthoepist Bullokar (1580). Salesbury (1547) writes *thw ndr*, which Sweet (*Hist. Eng. Sounds*, § 903) takes to be *r* following an indistinct vowel. Yet when Salesbury means a vowel he commonly writes it.

Thus the word *entrance* (Lat. *intra-re*) became *ent-r-ance* (thence often spelt *ent-er-ance*).

In our play we have *Eng-l-and* (iv. 1. 17: cf. *Richard III.* iv. 4. 263); *redoubled* (i. 3. 80: cf. *resemb-l-eth*, four syllables, *Two Gentlemen*, i. 3. 84).

In this first case and some others the extra syllable had a historic basis (M. E. *Engelond*, cf. *marshal* = F. *maréchal*); but this probably did not influence the change.

As a point of distinction between Shakespeare's and Marlowe's scansion note that *Mowbray's* name is in Shakespeare two syllables, in *Edward II.* three syllables (*i.e.* *Mowb-r-ay*).

(ii) *By passing from its vowel (syllabic) to its consonant (non-syllabic) value, the 'vowel-like' may cause the loss of a syllable.*

Thus often in the terminations *-able*, *-ible* (*i.e.* *-abl*, *-ibl*), before a vowel: *e.g.* "let it be *tén | able* in | your silence still" (*Hamlet*), where *-ab-l-in* (three syllables) becomes *ab-lin* (two syllables).

This, like all other kinds of contraction, is rarer in the earlier plays, while the later avoid the full reckoning of syllables which we find, *e.g.* in *wrinkle in*, i. 3. 230 (*wrink- | l-in*); *brittle as*, iv. 1. 288 (*britt | -l-às*).

Similarly, the syllables *-er*, *-el*, *-en*, and even *-in* and *-ain* (which in rapid talk were pronounced *r*, *l*, *n*) were often further reduced before a vowel, though probably not to the same degree as in the above cases.

Thus: *lie- | giver and*, iv. 1. 68 (nearly *lie-give | r-and*); *broth | er-in-law and*, v. 3. 137 (*bro-the-rin-law'nd*); *módel our firm*, iii. 4. 42 (*mode-lour-firm*); *over him*, ii. 1. 258 (*ove-r(h)im*); *villain cre*, v. 3. 54.

Similarly, within a word, a vowel-like facilitates contraction.

*E.g.* *sovereign* (i. 1. 29); *innocent* (i. 1. 103); *pelican* (*King Lear*, iii. 4. 77; but *pélican*, three syllables, in our play, ii. 1. 126); *Hereford* (always); *benevolenc(es)*, ii. 1. 250; *flourishing*, i. 2. 18; *Destinies*, i. 2. 15. In i. 2. 73 we have in immediate succession *désolàte*, *désolàte*.

So, contrary to present usage, we have *business*, ii. 1. 217; but *business*, ii. 2. 75.

So, in words of two syllables: *belike* (*belike*) (iii. 3. 30). And in words of more than three syllables: *generally* (ii. 2. 132); probably *imaginary* (ii. 2. 27), *imagery* (v. 2. 16), *sovereignuty* (iv. 1. 251); on the other hand: *customàry* (four syllables, ii. 1. 196); *honouràble* (iv. 1. 91); and *personàlly* (ii. 3. 135) (with slurred *y*).

(iii) Vowel-likes often, however, underwent a still further reduction, analogous to the suppression or slurring of vowels, and quite distinct from the conversion into consonant function.

Thus *-l*, *r*, representing older *-el*, *-er*, could be partially suppressed before a consonant, *e.g.* *uncle*: "Uncle, for God's sake, speak comfortable words", ii. 2. 76; *cousin*: "We do debase ourselves, cousin, do we not", iii. 3. 127; *remember*, i. 3. 269.

A somewhat violent example is: "be valiant and live", i. 3. 83, where either the *l* or the *n* of 'valiant' is thus reduced.

But *needle* in v. 5. 17 is not an instance of this, as it was pronounced (and often written) *neeld*.

(iv) The 'vowel-like' *r* often added to the syllabic value of a word in a way peculiar to itself; by causing a preceding long vowel to become a *diphthong* out of which, in its turn, two syllables were developed.—Thus: *hour* is commonly 'ow-ər' (i. 2. 7). Similarly: *fire* (v. 1. 48); *Ireland* (ii. 4. 103); perhaps *fair* (iv. 1. 304); and probably *fourth* (iv. 1. 212).

Cf. i. 2. 44, and note to ii. 3. 21.

#### §4. Vowel and Vowel.

Two adjacent vowels often lose their separate syllabic value, in a variety of ways (technically distinguished by the terms *elision*, *apocope*, *crasis*, *synizesis*, *synaeresis*). We cannot always decide which process is actually assumed in a given passage of Shakespeare, but contemporary spelling is often a valuable clue. As before, the earlier plays tend to permit, and the later to exclude, the treatment of adjacent vowels as separate syllables.

(i) *The adjacent vowels occur in different words.*

Here the final vowel of slightly stressed words like *the* and *to* was probably altogether suppressed, as in *th' one* (ii. 2. 113, v. 2. 18), (pron. *thōn*, not *thwun*); *th' other* (ii. 2. 113, but *the other* v. 2. 18); *th' abundant* (i. 3. 257); *th' earl* (ii. 2. 58); *to insinuate* (iv. 1. 165, *tinsinuate*); *to have leārned* (ii. 3. 24).

While other final vowels rather formed a *diphthong* with the initial vowel, as *thy anointed* (ii. 1. 98), *sorrow and grief* (iii. 3. 183); *Henry of* (v. 5. 102).

(ii) *In the same word.*

As the vowel-like nature of the sonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n* leads to the absorption of syllables, so the consonant affinity of certain vowels may have the same result.

Thus *i* easily passes to *y*, *u* to *w*, and a combination such as *i-a*, *i-o* may acquire the value of one syllable while still retaining clear traces of two.

*E.g.* such words as *cordial* (still three syllables in modern English), *marriage*, *conscience*, &c. are regularly dissyllabic in Shakespeare.

Other words vary: *e.g.* *miscrēant* (i. 1. 39), but *miscrēant* (1 *Henry VI.* iii. 4. 44); *récrcēant* (*Richard II.* i. 3. 106, 111); *récrcēant* (i. 2. 53).

Other examples are: *followers* (iv. 1. 224), *studying* (v. 5. 1); but *t'idious* (v. 2. 26).

The retention of *-ion* as two syllables at the end of verse is common throughout Shakespeare<sup>1</sup>: *admonitiōn*, ii. 1. 117; *incisiōn*, i. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Even far into the 17th century *-si-on* (two syllables) was a recognized pronunciation. It is given by Wilkins (1668). Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 915.

155; *imitatìon*, ii. 1. 23; but *nàtion*, ii. 1. 22. This was regular in M. E. *-cioìn* (in Chaucer, &c.). Less common is *-ian* as two syllables, e.g. *musicìans* (i. 3. 288), *physiciàn* (i. 1. 154). The same holds of *ion*, where the *-i-* is not original, but derived from a preceding French *l* or *gn*: as in *companion*, usually three syllables, but in v. 3. 7 scanned *-iòn*.

Again, when a stressed vowel is followed by an unstressed, the two may have the value of one syllable: e.g. *Corioli* (three syllables, or four), *Hermione* (three syllables, or four), *jewel* (one syllable, *Henry VIII.* v. 1. 34; but two syllables in our play, i. 3. 270); *fiery-red* (ii. 3. 58); *being* (v. 1. 91), but *doing* (two syllables) v. 2. 21; *theatre* (*King John*, ii. 1. 375, but three syllables in our play, v. 2. 23). So *voyage* (two syllables), v. 6. 49; *prayers* (two syllables regularly, e.g. v. 3. 101).

(iii) Lastly, we may notice here one remarkable case of contraction of vowels, viz. where this follows or accompanies the loss of an intervening *consonant*; which is, in all clear cases, either *th* or *v*. The second vowel is followed by *r* or *n*.

Thus *even* (adv.) is a monosyllable in 85 cases out of 100,<sup>1</sup> and the frequent spelling *e'en* shows that the *v* was then syncopated, not slurred. So probably in i. 3. 208, which might be explained also by ii. 1. (But the adj. *even* is always two syllables, and *un-even* three; ii. 3. 4.) So, *ever*, *never*, *over*, often written *e'er*, *ne'er*, *o'er* (or *e're*, &c.), e.g. iv. 1. 91; ii. 2. 143, 3. 33; iii. 2. 72; but *over* in v. 3. 3. *Seven*,—*se'en* (cf. 'sennight'), probably in i. 2. 11–14 (four times).

The *-th-* is usually lost in *wh'e'her* (often written *where*), *rather* (iv. 1. 15), *whither*, *either*. But we have *whither* as two syllables in v. 1. 85. The contraction of the auxiliaries, *'ld*, *'d*, for *would*, *had*, as now, need hardly be noticed. In v. 2. 103, we must assume such contraction for the written *thou wouldst*.

## II. ACCENT VARIATION.

In Shakespeare's time the word-accent was in the main fixed; even Romance words exhibit only few traces of the conflict between Romance and Germanic accentuation which gave variety to the language of Chaucer.

There was still, however, fluctuation (as even now) in the accentuation of *compounds* and *prefix-derivatives* of both Germanic and Romance origin. In the first case the fluctuations arose from the *compound* or *derivative* being felt, now as a single word (with accent usually on the first syllable), now as a group of words, with accent on the most *important*, which was usually not the first.

§ 1. **Germanic Words.**—Thus we have such varying stresses as *mankind* and *mánkind*, *straightwáy*, *straightway*, and in our play *heart-blood* (iii. 2. 131) and *heart-blóod* (iv. 1. 28); *wélcome* (iii. 1. 31), and probably *welcóme* (ii. 3. 170).

<sup>1</sup> Kö nig, p. 29.

So, in pronominal, adverbial, and prepositional compounds: *therefore* and *therefore* are common; *therein* and *therein*; *somewhat* and *somewhat*. Besides the common *something* we have probably to recognize *something* in *Romeo and Juliet* (v. 3. 8), "As signal that thou hear'st something approach".

As cases of derivatives, e.g. in *verbs*, besides the common accentuation *outrun*, *gainsay*, *forgive*, *uncurse*, &c., we have *outpray* (v. 3. 109); *forbid* (ii. 1. 200); *unfolds* (*Winter's Tale*, iv. 1. 2).

Participles with *un-* have commonly the stress on *in-* when used attributively, on the participle when used predicatively, as in *unborn* (ii. 2. 10), but *unborn* (iii. 3. 88); *unking'd* (iv. 1. 220), but *unking'd* (v. 5. 37). But this rule is not absolute: cf. such a line as, "But where *unbruised* youth with *unstuff'd* brain" (*Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 3. 37).

## § 2. Romance Words.

In Md. E. the influence of Latin has often thrust the stress back to its original place, while in Shakespeare it could fall on the first syllable, according to English accentuation. Thus: *secure* and *secur*, *complete* and *complet*, *extreme* and *extrême*, &c.; cf. *record* (i. 1. 30), *recórd* (iv. 1. 230).

Regularly we find *aspect* (i. 3. 127), *exile* (i. 3. 151); *sepulchre* (i. 3. 196), but *sépulchre* (ii. 1. 55). On the other hand, regularly *adverse*, but *advérse* (i. 3. 82).

In *chastise* (ii. 3. 104) the M. E. and O. F. accent (*chastisen*, *chastien*, *chastier*) is retained, as always in Shakespeare. The modern accent is due to the analogy of Greek words in *-iŷw*.

In derivations from verbs the accent usually, as now, agrees with that of the simple verb; but occasionally a final *-or*, *-ive*, *-able* (which in O. F. had the chief stress) bears a secondary stress, as often in Chaucer. Thus: *détestable*, *délectable* (ii. 3. 7), and *púrveyòr* (*Macbeth* i. 5. 22—"To be his púrveyòr"); but *convéyer* (iv. 1. 317); also *pérspectives* (ii. 2. 18).

In the sentence as in the word there is a normal arrangement of accents; which in O. E. was wholly unlike that of Md. E., and in Shakespeare's time did not entirely correspond.

Thus it is probable that both prepositions and the definite article often bore a stronger accent than now.

## III. VERSE STRUCTURE.

§ 1. **Normal Verse.**—The essential structure of Shakespearian blank verse, as already stated, is a series of ten syllables bearing five stresses.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest English blank verse, and still often in Shakespeare, the *stresses* alternate with *non-stresses*; (e.g.) "For time hath set a blot upon my pride" (iii. 2. 81).

<sup>1</sup> The words *stress* and *non-stress* are here used for the metrical *ictus*, or beat, and the pause between. It is essential to distinguish the series of *stresses* and *non-stresses* which form the rhythm, from the word- and sentence-accents which are accommodated to them.

Such verses, however, occurring in masses, as they do, *e.g.*, in the first blank-verse tragedy *Gorboduc* (1563), would be insufferably monotonous. The beauty of Elizabethan verse is gained chiefly by several well-marked variations which became *typical*.

## § 2. Normal Variations.

(i) *Stress variation*. Thus, the stresses may vary in degree; syllables which bear a very slight natural *accent* being placed in a normally stressed place. Thus—

To scarlet indignation, and bedew (iii. 3. 99).

With no less terror than the elements (iii. 3. 55).

Such lines are not to be regarded as a *departure from a type*, but as examples of a *new type* of great beauty. Hence their melodious effect. There were limits, however, to this variation. *E.g.* two *weak stresses* rarely come together; nor are there ever, in the five-stressed verse, *more than two weak stresses*.

(ii) *Stress inversion*. Then, but also within limits, the alternate order of *stress* and *non-stress* may be inverted. As this causes two stresses to come together, and as two stresses can only be pronounced in succession when a slight pause intervenes, this inversion commonly coincides with a pause in the sense, and is thus found most often (1) at the beginning of a line, (2) in the 3rd or 4th foot, sense-pauses commonly occurring in these places. *E.g.*, in the various feet:

(1) Pádon | is áll | the súit | I háve | in hánd (v. 3. 130).

(3) Should dy' | ing mén | fláttér | with thóse | that líve (ii. 1. 88).

(4) Unléss | he dó | profáne, | steál or | usúrp (iii. 3. 81).

In the second foot it is much less usual:<sup>1</sup> *e.g.*

High bírth, | vígour | of bóne | desért | in sérv | ice  
(*Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 3. 172).

In the fifth the inversion has hardly become typical (*i.e.* when it occurs it is felt as *unrhythmical*). It is found very rarely, and only after a marked pause. At times, however, a striking effect is produced by the use in the fifth place of syllables of which the natural accentuation is variable: *e.g.*

Nor I' | nor án | y mán | that bút | *man is* (v. 5. 39).

where 'man', being repeated, is unemphatic, so that the three words *but man is* have approximately equal accentuation.

Two inversions may occur in the same line: *e.g.*

(1, 3) O'ld John | of Gaúnt | tíme-hon | our'd Lán | caster (i. 1. 1).

(1, 4) Speák with | me, píft | y me, | ópen | the doór (v. 3. 77).

But we rarely find *two* inversions in succession and never *three*. Hence in the first of the above lines the second foot must have a stress in the second place. Note that this gives us a means of dis-

<sup>1</sup> König has reckoned that it occurs 34 times in Shakespeare, in the 2nd place, against c. 500 in the 3rd, and c. 300 in the 1st.



tinguishing a *shifting of (word) accent from an inversion of (verse) stress*.

(iii) *Pauses*. One of the most potent sources of varied and beautiful rhythm is the distribution of the *pauses*. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between (1) the *metrical* and (2) the *sense* pause. The first is that assumed by the structure of verse to take place in passing from one line to the next, just as in prose from one paragraph to the next, and in strophic verse also from one stanza to another. A slighter metrical pause occurred within the verse (*cæsura*), in the older five-stressed verse regularly at the end of the second foot, where in MSS. and old texts it is often marked by a line or space.

In early Elizabethan blank verse (e.g. *Gorboduc*) the metrical pause of both kinds coincides with a more or less marked sense-pause: and examples of this (as of all other kinds of effect) are not wanting in Shakespeare. E.g. the following couplet:

Farewell my blood; | which, if to-day thou shed,  
Lament we may | but not revenge thee dead (i. 3. 57-8).

As Shakespeare proceeds, however, he shows a growing tendency to avoid the monotony of such an effect by detaching the *sense-pauses* from the *metrical* pauses; making the end of one line syntactically continuous with the beginning of the next, and distributing the strong sense-pauses in a great variety of places throughout the line. Such lines are called 'unstopt' or 'run-on' lines; and the non-coincidence of sentence and line is called 'enjambement'.

Sense-pauses are, however, of very different degrees. It is only in the later plays that we find closing the line those 'light endings' or proclitic monosyllables which 'precipitate the reader forward' on to the following words (e.g. the prepositions; while the *auxiliaries* and *personal pronouns* ('weak endings') thus used only become frequent in these later plays.

The metre of *Richard II.* is that characteristic of Shakespeare's second period. It intermediates between the severely 'end-stopt' verse of the earlier and the bold enjambements of the later plays. In attempting to classify the *pauses* admitted in the verse-end, the following points must be noted.

(1) The pause is diminished by close syntactic connection of the parts separated by the verse-end.

But (2) while the syntactic connection remains the same, the *pause* may be increased by

(a) The *weight* or *length* of the parts separated;

(b) Insertion of *clauses* or *words* which interrupt the continuity of sense.

(c) Inversion of the normal order.

Usually the quality of the pause is affected by more than one of these at once. The end-pause may occur in *Richard II.*—

(1) Between *subject* and *predicate*, often without modification by (b) (c).

For their *love*  
*Lies* in their purses (ii. 2. 129).

Cf. ii. 3. 51, &c.

In

the other again  
Is my kinsman (ii. 2. 113),

'again' increases the end-pause, by 2 (b). Examples of 2 (a b) abound: *e.g.*

And you that do abet him in this kind  
Cherish rebellion (ii. 3. 146).

(2) Between predicate and completion (verb and object, infin. and object, auxil. and infin.). Rarely without modification:

Come, cousin, I'll  
Dispose of you (ii. 2. 116).  
Then true noblesse *would*  
learn him forbearance . . .

- (b) The noble duke hath sworn *is*  
But for his own (ii. 3. 148).  
(a) But theirs is sweeten'd with the hope to *have*  
The present benefit which I possess (ii. 3. 13).  
The king of heaven forbid our lord the king  
Should so with civil and uncivil arms  
(b) Be rushed upon (iii. 3. 101).

So, when the object or completion *precedes*, the enjambement being softened by (c):

Harry of Hereford, Lancaster and Derby  
Am I (i. 3. 35).

(3) Clauses and sentences beginning with *than*, *as*, *so*, or *prepositions* regularly follow the verse-pause, however close their connection with the preceding words may be: *e.g.*

It is no *more*  
Than my poor life must answer (v. 2. 82).  
So heavy sad  
As, though on thinking, &c. (ii. 2. 30).  
The champions are prepared, and stay  
For nothing but his majesty's approach (i. 3. 4).  
to be upright judge  
Of noble Richard (iv. 1. 119).  
retired himself  
To Italy (iv. 1. 97).  
what thy soul holds dear, imagine it  
To lie that way thou go'st (i. 3. 287).

(iv) *Omission of syllables*. Sometimes the number of syllables is less than the normal ten, the stresses remaining *five*. This happens especially after a marked *pause*, and is thus found in the same situation as (ii). But it hardly became a regular type. *E.g.*  
(1st foot).

Stay', | the king' | hath thrown' | his ward' | er down! (i. 3. 318).

So i. 1. 20; iii. 2. 2.

(3rd foot).

Yea, lookst' | thou pale' ? | —Let' | me see' | the writing' (v. 2. 57).

So also iii. 3. 10, 103.

(4th foot).

Of good' | old A' | braham'. | —Lords' | appell'ants (iv. 1. 103).

This, like all other irregularities, is commonest after a *change of speakers* (the most marked of all dramatic pauses). Cf. *Hamlet*, iii. 4. 139—

This bodiless creation ecstasy  
Is very cunning in.  
*Hamlet.* Ecstasy!

(v) *Extra syllables.* The pause tends to break the metrical continuity of what precedes and follows it, and thus, as already shown, occasions irregularity. But the irregularity may consist in *addition* as well as the *loss* of syllables. It is commonest immediately before the verse-pause (*i.e.* at the end of the line).<sup>1</sup> In this place, indeed, it is the most frequent of all deviations from the primitive type; in the hands of Shakespeare and his successors it became a typical variation; with Fletcher it tended to exclude the simpler type altogether. Examples abound everywhere.<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*

To pay their awful duty to our presence (iii. 3. 76).

This is less common immediately *after* the pause (*i.e.* at the beginning of the line): *e.g.*

And quite lost' | their hearts': the nobles hath he fined (ii. 1. 247).

So ii. 2. 91; iii. 2. 3.

Much less common are *two* extra syllables, where not explainable by *syncope* or *slurring*, as:

And as I am a gentleman I credit him (iii. 3. 120).

An extra syllable also often accompanies the *pause within the verse* ('caesura').<sup>3</sup> Thus:

To say King Rich | ard : alack' | the hea | vy day' (iii. 3. 8).

So v. 2. 71; v. 2. 101; v. 5. 109.

And at a break in the dialogue:

What says his maj' | esty?—Sor' | row and grief' | of heart' (iii. 3. 183).

So v. 2. 110; ii. 1. 141.

In the later plays, extra syllables are freely introduced in other places; and occasionally in our play:

Now by mine honour, by my life, by my troth (v. 2. 78).

So i. 3. 83; and probably iv. 1. 329.

One class of extra-syllabled lines is found, however, indiscriminately in all periods, and especially in the English Histories: viz.

<sup>1</sup> On the chronological value of double-endings, see Introduction, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> This was common in the oldest (French) iambic verse, and in Chaucer, and normal in Italian; but was almost entirely avoided by the first English writer of blank verse, Surrey.

<sup>3</sup> This was common in the French epic iambic (*Chanson de Roland*), and occasional in Chaucer.

those composed of, or containing, proper names. They appear to be often on principle extra-metrical, and in any case comply very loosely with the metre; e.g. ii. 1. 279, 283-4 (and note to the last passage).

### § 3. Less-usual Variations.

(i) *Omission of stresses.* Occasionally, one of the five *stresses* is omitted, likewise in consequence of a strong pause.

Their fruits | of dut | y—' | superfluous branches (iii. 4. 63).

At a break in the dialogue:

Ho! who' (i)s | within' | there.—' | Sad'dle | my horse' . (v. 2. 74).

And v. 2. 64 (*fear* as two syllables).

Many of the four-stress lines in Shakespeare come under this head, and are to be thus regarded as irregular specimens of the ordinary iambic rather than as genuine four-stress verses. But the presence of these last is undoubted.

In all Shakespeare's plays we find, scattered among the normal five-stress iambics, short or fragmentary verses of from *one* to *four* feet. Those of one foot are often rather to be regarded as extra-metrical; those of four feet are very rare. Except in the later plays, these short verses are habitually marked off from the normal verses in which they occur by decided *pauses* or breaks in the sense.

Two classes of short line may be distinguished, which we may call the *exclamatory* and the *interrupted*, respectively. In the first class, the brevity of the verse marks the interjectional character of what it expresses; in the second, it marks some abruptness in the *dialogue*, being incomplete merely because the next speaker begins a new verse.

1. *Exclamatory.*—Under this head we find a quantity of expressions ranging from the matter-of-fact *order* and the formal *address*, to the *ejaculation* of high-wrought passion and pathos. The former seems to be detached from the normal verse as being more *prosaic* (just as formal documents, letters, &c., are commonly detached from the verse), the latter to give them greater *moment* and *distinction*.

Thus we have:

(a) *Matter-of-fact remarks, orders, &c.*

"Bring forth these men" (iii. 1. 1); "Call forth Bagot" (iv. 1. 1, also iv. 1. 2); "But stay, here come the gardeners" (iii. 4. 24).

(b) *Exclamations.*

"Help, help, help!" (v. 5. 104); "Amen" (i. 4. 65); "Tut, tut" (ii. 3. 86).

So v. 3. 41.

The exclamation *Oh* appears sometimes even to be intruded into the body of a verse otherwise normal, as an extra-metrical syllable: e.g. iii. 4. 55; cf. Abbott, § 512.

(c) *Addresses or appeals.*

Several striking instances occur in this play.

"(Rich.) Here cousin" (iv. 1. 182); "(Carl.) Marry, God forbid" (iv. 1. 114); "(Abb.) My lord" (iv. 1. 326).

The second gives weight to Carlisle's bold protest, the third well expresses the cautious hesitation of the Abbot.

Cf. also: "*Bol.* Carlisle, this is your doom" (v. 6. 24). "*Rich.* Draw near" (i. 3. 123).

Of a simpler kind are ii. 3. 2; v. 1. 95; v. 3. 46; iii. 3. 31, &c.

2. *Interrupted*.—The simplest cases of the line left incomplete by *interruption* is where the following speaker *has not heard it*: e.g.

*Bol.* Have thy desire.

*York.* [*Within*] My liege beware; look to thyself (v. 3. 38);

or converses with a *different person than the first speaker*.

*Gard.* That tell black tidings.—

*Queen.* O, I am pressed to death for want of speaking (iii. 4. 71);

or more commonly, *ignores* the first speaker. So, in *King John*, ii. 1. 276, the Bastard's interruptions are ignored by the kings, whose speeches begin fresh lines.

So York and the Duchess:

*Duch.* What is the matter, my lord?

*York.* Who is within there?—Saddle my horse. . .

*Duch.* Why, what is it, my lord?

*York.* Give me my boots, I say; saddle my horse (v. 2. 73).

Or the following speaker impatiently *interrupts* the former: e.g.

*Bol.* My gracious lord—

*Rich.* Fair cousin, you debase your princely knee (iii. 3. 189);

and

*North.* My lord—

*Rich.* No lord of thine, thou haught insulting man (iv. 1. 253).

Thence it is used where a speaker *interrupts himself*; and thus expresses the confused bewilderment of York in ii. 2. 98 f., e.g.

Dispose of you.

Gentlemen, go muster up your men (ii. 2. 118).

So, especially where a speaker *breaks off* on the arrival of a fresh person. *E.g.*

Than your good words. But who comes here? (ii. 3. 20).

So ii. 3. 67.

Sometimes the want of continuity emphasizes the *difference of rank* or of *standpoint* between two speakers, and serves to distinguish the formal or business talk of a superior with an inferior from an intimate *conversation*.

*York.* What is't, knave?

*Serv.* An hour before I came, the duchess died (ii. 2. 97).

So in the dialogue between Richard and the groom (v. 5. 81); and probably in that of the Queen with her lady (iii. 4. 3); the Queen and Green (ii. 2. 61); Richard and Bushy (i. 4. 53); and, perhaps, of Northumberland and Percy (ii. 3. 23 f.); Bolingbroke and Percy (v. 3. 12, 15).

The irregularity of the dialogue in v. 2. 53 f. seems to emphasize the embarrassed behaviour of Aumerle. Note the two four-stress verses, v. 2. 53 and 55.

Instances of short lines imbedded in the verse, except under these conditions, are very rare, except in the latest plays, where every kind of licence is taken with lordly privilege. Richard's

I live with bread like you, feel want,  
Taste grief, need friends: subjected thus (iii. 4. 175-6)

may perhaps (if authentic) be an instance of brevity for emphasis. At anyrate, no one with a fine ear will wish this impressive couplet away.

A similar case is i. 3. 279.

(ii) *Extra stresses*. Verses of *six* or more stresses are far rarer; but their existence is unmistakable.

Commonly there is a decided pause after the third foot:

Found truth in all but one; I in twelve thousand none (iv. 1. 171).

So v. 3. 101; v. 3. 42; ii. 1. 94; iv. 1. 19.

In the following the pause is slighter, but still in the middle:

How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing news? (iii. 4. 74).

So ii. 3. 29.

Rarely, the pause is after the fourth foot, as in v. 2. 70; or there is no pause, as in ii. 4. 6.

Usually the long verse serves, like some examples of the short verse, to give weight and emphasis; the metrical isolation throwing the thought so isolated into relief. A signal example of this is Exton's recital of Bolingbroke's words:

Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear? (v. 4. 2).

#### § 4. Rhyme.

As noticed in the Introduction, *Richard II.* stands alone among the Histories, and resembles the early Comedies, in its free use of *rhyme*. Shakespeare's use of rhyme in these plays was not severely consistent; and it would be a mistake to discover nice calculation in every instance of it. But neither was it by any means wholly arbitrary; and we easily detect three principles which direct, without absolutely determining, his use of it.

(i) *Final*.—First, it is used, in a purely formal way, to *close* both a *scene* and a *speech*. The former use Shakespeare retained to the end of his career as a single couplet. In our play it may be several couplets, as i. 1. 200 f.; 2. 69 f. Of the latter we have examples in i. 1. 18-19, 43-6, 82-3, 107-8, &c.

Even, apparently, at the end of one division of a speech, as i. 3. 65-9 (where Bolingbroke turns to address his father).

(ii) *Epigrammatic*.—The final couplet of a speech often *clinches* it with an epigram;<sup>1</sup> and the first use is closely connected with the extensive use of the couplet for epigrammatically pointed speech.

This is peculiarly common in the language of Richard, and is used, like his word-play, with evident intention, to mark his

<sup>1</sup> Note the Elizabethan fondness for this clinching final couplet, as shown by the form assumed, in defiance of all Italian tradition, by the Shakespearian sonnets.

character. Thus it is used to point his retort to Mowbray (i. 3. 174-5), to Gaunt (ii. 1. 139-40), to York (ii. 1. 145-6, 153-4), to Bolingbroke (iv. 1. 191-202, 317-18), and his self-mockery (iii. 3. 178-82).

Again, it points the epigrams of Gaunt in i. 3. 221-46.

Bolingbroke, who is throughout very sparing of rhymes (except of the purely formal first type), points with it his bitter comment (i. 3. 214-5) and his raillery (v. 3. 79-82).

(iii) *Lyric*.—The habitual use of rhymed verse for the *lyric*, made it natural to use it also in passages approaching the lyric in character, *i.e.* expressing *emotion*; especially *plaintive* and elegiac emotion.

Thus, it marks the parting of Richard and the Queen (v. 1. 86 f.), the last words of Gaunt (ii. 1. 135-9), and of Richard (v. 5. 109-12); Richard's 'sweet way to despair', iii. 2. 209-19; iv. 214-21; Mowbray's grief, i. 3. 175 (but not his long speech, i. 3. 154-173); Carlisle's lament (iv. 1. 322-3); Exton's penitence (v. 5. 112 f.); and Bolingbroke's (v. 6. 30-52). In the end of iii. 4 it marks the change from *narrative* to *lamentation* ("Queen. Come, ladies, go", &c., iii. 4. 96 f.). In the Duchess' appeal (v. 3. 92 f.) it probably marks the plaintive rather than energetic passion of an old woman. Shakespeare clearly did not mean the pleading of the 'shrill-voiced suppliant' to be very pathetic.

On the other hand, rhyme is not used (except of the first type), as a rule, in passages of

(1) *Active movement* or business-like discussion.

It is thus rare throughout the second act, and in the part of Bolingbroke in general. Its use in v. 6. 6 is anomalous, and perhaps marks the close of the play.

(2) *Narrative*: *e.g.* York's account of the entry into London (v. 2); the dialogue of the gardeners (iii. 4).

(3) *Energetic and eloquent passion*: *e.g.* the dying speech of Gaunt, and in the more vigorous outbursts of Richard.



# GLOSSARY.

**advice** (i. 3. 233), judgment, consideration. O. F. *avis*; < Late L. Lat. \**ad-visum*. Written *ad-vis* in 15th century through influence of Latin. Originally, "the way a thing is looked at, opinion, judgment" (Murray). Similarly, **advised** (i. 3. 188), 'with judgment'.

**allow** (v. 2. 40), recognize, sanction. O. F. *alouer* represents both L. *allaudare*, 'commend', and *allocare*, 'place'; the notions of *approval* and of *granting* being sufficiently near to help the identification. In M. E. and E. E. the former predominates, in Mod. E. the latter. The *ll* is due to the influence of Latin.

**amazing** (i. 3. 81). See note.

**annoyance** (iii. 2. 16), what produces hatred, injury. Formed from the simple *annoy* (subst.). O. F. *anoy*, probably from Lat. *in odio* in the phrase 'est mihi in odio', 'it is to me hateful'; O. Venet. contains the full form *inodio*, 'dislike'. The word is thence far more forcible than in Mod. E. The M. E. *anoy* was often shortened to *noy*; was hence interpreted as if from *a-noy*, and the *n* doubled in 15th century by form association with words like *announce* (Murray).

**antic** (iii. 2. 162), grotesque figure. Apparently from Ital. *antico*, 'old', but from the first applied in England in the sense of Ital. *grottesco*, i.e. 'bizarre', 'odd' (from the fantastic representations of forms found in underground caverns (*grottoes*) of Rome; hence used in 16th and 17th centuries in all the senses of the later-borrowed word 'grotesque' (Murray), being applied e.g. to *gar-goyles*, grotesque pageants or anti-masks, and, as here, to the *skele-*

*ton* which symbolized Death. So Donne, elegies—

"Name not these living Deaths-heds unto me,  
For these not ancient but antique be";

and 1 *Henry VI.* iv. 7. 18, "Thou antic Death, which laugh'st us here to scorn".

**appeach** (v. 2. 79), impeach. "Represents an earlier *anpeche*, M. E. or O. F. form of *empêcher*. < L. *impedicare*, 'catch by the feet', 'entangle'" (Murray). Colloquially shortened to *peach*.

**approved** (ii. 3. 44), tried, attested by experience. *Approve* < O. F. *aprover*, < Lat. *ad-probare*, 'to make good'; hence 'show', 'demonstrate'. The Mod. E. use refers rather to the *result* of demonstration, i.e. 'assent'; an instance of the frequent development of meaning from *cause* to *effect*. See **inherits** below.

**argument** (i. 1. 12), subject; O. F. *argument*, < Lat. *argumentum*. In E. E. often used loosely for 'that which is the subject of discourse', so any matter or subject. Similarly, 'reason' was often used loosely for 'discourse', 'conversation'. In Mod. E. both words have returned to their stricter reference (as in Lat.) to discussion which aims at *proof*.

**atone** (i. 1. 202), reconcile; from M. E. *at oon* ('at one'), the pronunciation of which was preserved through the isolation of the compound from its parts in meaning, even when *one* came to be pronounced, as now, *wan*.

**attach** (ii. 3. 156), arrest; O. F. *atachier*, from a root probably cognate with English *tack*; hence probably = 'to tack to'. "The...sense of 'arrest' arose in Ang. Fr. and

Eng. as an elliptical expression for 'attach by some tie to the jurisdiction of a court', *i.e.* so that it shall have a *hold* on the party. A man might thus be 'attached' or *nailed* 'by his body', 'by his goods and chattels', or 'by sureties for his appearance'. In the first two cases 'attachment' consisted of arrest and detention" (Murray).

**attainder** (iv. 1. 24), dishonouring accusation; a figurative use of the legal term, which meant 'the legal consequences of judgment of death or outlawry', *i.e.* the forfeiture of estate, extinction of all civil rights. < O. F. *ateindre*, 'to attain', used as a substitute; hence 'to strike, seize, condemn'; 'subsequently warped by association with F. *teindre*, 'to stain', and thus defined by lawyers as "the stain or corruption of blood of a criminally condemned", *i.e.* his inability to inherit or bequeath (Murray).

**baffling** (i. 1. 170), disgracing. The immediate source was the Northern dialectic *bauchle*, originally used of a punishment inflicted on recreant knights. The further history of the word is very obscure. Cf. Murray *s.v.*

**band** (i. 1. 2), bond. M. E. *band*, *bōnd*, from \*band, the stem of O. E. *bīnd-an*, 'to bind', but not itself found in O. E. In M. E. the *a* before *nd* was variously treated in different dialects; in Langland it is *a*, in Chaucer *o* (Sweet, Hist. E. Sounds, § 646). *Bond* and *band* thence passed into E. E. in senses which then partly overlapped, but have since served to differentiate the two words: 'band' having now reference chiefly to *physical*, 'bond' chiefly to *moral*, or *legal*, ties.

**barbed** (iii. 3. 117), armed or caparisoned with a *barb* or *bard*, *i.e.* a covering for the breast and flanks of a war-horse, made of metal plates, or of leather set with metal spikes or bosses. Properly *barded*,

from *bard*, < F. *barde*, 'horse-armour', probably from Arabic (Murray).

**bay** (ii. 3. 128), to the bay. See note. "Two different words seem to be here inextricably confused. Originally *to hold at bay* seems < O. F. *tenir a bay*, where *bay* means the state of suspense...indicated by the open mouth (late Lat. *badare*, 'to open the mouth'. But *to stand at bay*...corresponds to Mod. F. *être aux abois*, 'to be at close quarters with the barking dogs'; and *bay* is here aphetically formed from O. F. *abai*, 'barking'" (Murray).

**beholding** (iv. 1. 160), obliged, indebted; an E. E. corruption of the part. *beholden* of M. E. *beholden* < O. E. *be-healdan*, 'to obtain, hold; behold, attend to'. The sense of *oblige, engage*, is not found except in the partic., but arises easily out of the sense 'to hold'. Murray suggests that "the general acceptance of *beholding* may have been due to a notion that it meant 'looking' (*e.g.* with respect or dependence)".

**beshrew** (iii. 2. 204), a mild imprecation, often playful. M. E. *be-shrēwen* had the stronger and older sense, 'to make evil, corrupt'; < M. E. *shrēwe*, 'evil' (the shrew was often = 'the devil'). The O. E. *screāwa* has only the sense 'shrew-(or barn-) mouse', but this was doubtless the same word, meaning 'the destructive one'. The word *mouse* itself means 'stealer'.

**bespeak** (v. 2. 20), O. E. *be-sprecan*, 'to speak of (about)'. In M. E. it acquired also the sense of speaking *with, to*. This is the commonest sense in E. E. as here. The Mod. E. sense 'to order' is a specialization of the original sense. It also occurs in Shakespeare.

**betid** (v. 1. 42), happened. M. E. *be-tiden*, 'happen', a synonym of *tiden* < O. E. *tīd-an*, happen.

**boot** (i. 1. 164), 'help, redress'. O. E. *bót*, (1) advantage, profit; (2) amends. The legal sense of atonement for an offence arose from the general one of 'profit', as in the Germ. *Busse*, 'fine', 'penance'.

**caitiff** (i. 2. 53), captive (*fig.* as being vanquished). < Norm. F. *caitif*, 'captive, weak, miserable', Lat. *captivum*. Note that its Norm. origin is marked by the retention of Lat. *c* before *a*; which most French dialects turned to *ch* (cf. *cattle* and *chattel*, *castle* and F. *château*; *caitiff* itself and F. *chétif*.) The words *catch* and *chase* have come to us, the one from the Picard dialect, the other from some dialect of central France.

**chopping** (v. 3. 124), changing. This sense is clearly attested in 16th-17th centuries. Cotgrave gives 'chop' as an equivalent of F. *troquer*, *changer*. Not found in M. E. Skeat's account of it as a 'weakened' form of M. E. (< Du.) *copen*, 'barter', is hardly tenable; but it is probably connected with the purely English form of the same root seen in *ch:ap*.

**climate** (iv. 1. 130), region. O. Fr. *climat*, < Lat. *clima*, Gk. *κλίμα*. Properly a zone of the earth, "contemplated in its *slope* or inclination from the equator toward the pole". So in astrology, 'a region of the sky'. In E. E. it means (1) a region of the earth (as here), and especially (2) with reference to its atmospheric conditions (as in Md. E.).

"The mathematical geographers of antiquity were wont to run imaginary parallel lines to the equator; and the successive *climates* of the earth were the regions between these lines" (Trench, *Select Glossary*).

**commend** (iii. 3. 116), hand over, commit; < Lat. *commendare* through O. F. The Latin word (from *mandare*) means (1) to 'put

in the care of', 'commit to'. (2) through the praise natural in thus putting a *person* in the care of another, 'to praise'. In E. E. sense (1) preponderates.

**complexion** (iii. 2. 194), appearance. (1) The word (< Lat. *complexion-em*, through O. F. and M. E.) meant in M. E. 'constitution', 'temperament', and referred like the latter word to the four Humours mixed, in varying proportions, in each human body; so Chaucer, "of his complexion he was sanguin". Thence it denoted, as now, (2) the outer appearance of the face, as an index of temperament, and then (3) outer appearance in general, as here. All three meanings are common in Shakespeare.

**complices** (ii. 3. 165), accomplices. The form, still preserved in *complicity*, was common in E. E. < F. *complice*, Lat. *complic-em*: prop. 'one engaged in, concerned in' (a plot, &c.).

**conceit** (ii. 2. 33), imagination, anything conceived. M. E. *conceit*, 'notion', < O. F. *conceit*, < Lat. *concept-um*. In Shakespeare it refers mostly to inventive power, mental capacity, and never alone has the modern sense of 'a vain *conceit* of oneself'.

**convey** (iv. 1. 317), accompany, escort, convoy. < M. E. *conveien*, < O. F. *conveier*, L. Lat. *conviare*. (1) Properly 'to bring on the way', 'accompany', of persons; but also said in M. E., where they were *carried*, or in the Mod. E. sense, *conveyed*; hence (2) used also of *inanimate things* (which could not be 'conveyed' otherwise), and especially (3) of *secret* carrying, e.g. "an onion which is a napkin being close conveyed", *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind., and so (4) of *stealing*. Richard plays upon senses (1) and (4).

**cozening** (ii. 2. 69), cheating, beguiling. F. *cousiner*, < *cousin*, "to claime kindred for advantage...;

as he who, to save charges in travelling, goes from house to house, as *cosin* to the honour of everyone" (Cotgrave, quot. Skeat). In E. E. the word means simply 'cheat', especially by wheedling or cajolery, an easy development of sense: it was not felt to be a derivative of 'cousin'; the incessant coupling of the two words is witticism, not etymology.

**defend.** See note i. 3. 18.

**determinate** (i. 3. 150), set a limit to. A verb formed from the p. part. of L. *determinare* (> O. F. *determiner*) *determinate*, found in M. E. as a part. adj. *determinat*. The conversion of participles into verbs, without change of form, was one of the most striking features of English word-making in the 15th-16th century. Few, if any, clear cases of verbs in *-ate* are older than the 16th. Dr. Murray, in his admirable article on this suffix (*Eng. Dict.* *-ate*<sup>3</sup>) has shown that it arose through the existence in 15th-century English of other classes of verbs with identical p. part. and infin., e.g. 'confuse' (Fr. *confus*, from L. part. *confusum*).

**dispar'ked.** See note to iii. 1. 22.

**eager** (i. 1. 49), sharp, biting. M. E. *egre*, O. F. *egre*, Lat. *acrem* (*acer*).

**ear** (iii. 2. 212), plough. M. E. *erien*, O. E. *erian*. The *ea*, which in Mod. E. commonly represents O. E. and M. E. *e* before *r* (cf. *swear*, M. E. *swerien*; *spear*, M. E. *spere*; *bear*, M. E. *beren*, &c.), probably expressed in E. E. two varieties of *e* since diphthongated to *ea* (*swear*, *bear*) or *iä* (*spär*). See word lists in Sweet, *Hist. Eng. Sounds*, p. 306.

**envy** (i. 2. 21), hatred, ill-will. M. F. *envie*, O. F. *envie*, L. *invidiam*. The meaning fluctuates in E. E. between this and the special ill-will provoked by another's excellence or success.

**exactly** (i. 1. 140), in set terms. Lat. *exactum*; *exigere*, 'weigh'; hence 'accurately measured', 'definite, distinct, explicit'.

**expedient** (i. 4. 39), prompt. **expedience** (ii. 1. 287), rapidity, haste. 16th-century formations through French, from Lat. *expedire*, properly 'to disengage the feet', hence 'to remove obstacles', 'enable to act freely, and so promptly'. Cf. Mod. E. *expedite*, *expedition*. Thence, a course which tends to remove or avoid obstacles is 'expedient'; a sense also common in E. E., now exclusive.

**favour** (iv. 1. 168), features, faces. M. E. *favour*, not from O. F. *faveur*, as Skeat says (an impossible sound change), but from a Norm. F. *favor*, Lat. *favor-em*, 'kindliness', 'favour'. The transition of meaning is the common one from a mental disposition to the face which expresses it; cf. *countenance*, and the inverse transition in *cheer* (< *cara*, 'head').

**foil** (i. 3. 266), 'setting', used technically of the metal surface or ground in which jewelry was inlaid and which served to throw it off. Like the last, an Anglo-Norm. word, < O. F. *foil*, Lat. *folium*, 'leaf'.

**fond** (v. 1. 101; 2. 95, 101), foolish. An adjective from the M. E. p. part. *fonned* of *fonnen*, "to be foolish", 'play the fool', from M. E. *fon*, 'foolish', 'fool'. The modern sense arose from the association of warm feeling with intellectual feebleness: cf. the inverse transition in Mod. E. *silly* < O. E. *sæl*, 'happiness', 'bliss'.

**forfend** (iv. 1. 129), forbid, prohibit. M. E. *forfenden*, 'ward off', from *fenden*, often used in M. E. for *defenden*, Lat. *defendere*. The resemblance of meaning between *de* in this word and the Eng. *for* in *for-bid* ('enjoin off, away, de-precate') caused the formation of this hybrid compound.

**fretted** (iii. 3. 167), worn away. O.E. *fret-an*, 'consume', 'devour', not "contracted from *for-etan*" (Skeat), but from *fra-etan* (with syncope of *a*), < Goth. *fra*, usually represented in O.E. by *for*. So O.E. *fræfele*, 'wild', 'senseless', (Germ. *Frevel*) *fra*, combined with root of O.N. *aft-s*, 'strength'; and Germ. *fr-essen*, 'devour'. (Kluge, *s.v.* 'fressen'.) The verb, though strong in O.E., is commonly weak in E.E.; but the p. part. *freten* lingers in the form *fretten* once found in Shakespeare (*Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1. 77 Quartos).

**gage** (i. 1. 60), pledge. See note. < O.F. *gage*, formed, not "from Lat. *vadi-, vas*" (Skeat), but from a Germanic stem *wadjo-* preserved in Goth. *wadi*, O.E. *wedd* ('wedlock'), Germ. *wette*, 'pledge'. (Kluge, *s.v.* *wett*.)

**glose** (ii. 1. 10), flatter, speak insincerely or idly, babble; < M.E. *glosen*, O.F. *gloser*, from *glose*, < L. *glossa*, 'explanation', 'gloss', 'comment', and so any misleading presentation of truth, especially with a view to please, 'flattery'. The word had already been borrowed in O.E. *glésan* (with i-mutation).

**gnarling** (i. 3. 292), snarling, growling. "*Gnarl* is the frequentative of *gnar*, 'to snarl', with the usual added *l*; an imitative word. Cf. Ger. *knurren*, 'growl'" (Skeat). Used by Shakespeare only once elsewhere, "where wolves are gnarling" (*2 Henry VI.* iii. 1. 192).

**gripe** (iii. 3. 80), seize, clasp. O.E. *grip-an*, whence also *grope* and *grip*. Unlike these words 'gripe' has now passed out of the literary language.

**haught** (iv. 1. 254), haughty; a form of *haughty* used by Shakespeare only in the early plays (*Henry VI.*, *Richard III.*).

*Haughty* is an Anglicized form of Fr. *hautain*, < Lat. *alt-us*.

**haviour** (i. 3. 77), bearing, deportment. A shortened E.E. form of *be-haviour*, an anomalously formed subst. from M.E. *be-habben*, behave, O.E. *be-hæbban* (from *hæbban*, 'to have, hold'). Properly, the 'holding or conducting oneself well'. Skeat (*s.v.* *behaviour*) suggests that the French suffix may have been due to confusion with *aver*, *avoir* (< Lat. *habere*), 'property'.

**imp** (ii. 1. 292), piece out', a technical hawking term; see note. < M.E. *ymp-en*, O.E. *imp-ian*, 'graft'. This was probably a very early loan-word from Latin (before 7th century), but cannot be taken directly from Lat. *imputare*. Kluge (*s.v.* *Impfen*) suggests an intermediate link, \**impo(d)are*; Pogatscher (§ 382), a link, \**impetun*, which, by the analogy of the O.E. verbs in *-et(t)an*, may have led to the coinage of the simple *imp-ian*. The word is also discussed by Franz, *Lat. Elem. im A.H.D.* p. 17. The word *prop* (< Lat. *propago*, 'a cutting') has a partly parallel history.

**impeach** (i. 1. 170). See **ap-peach**, above.

**imprese** (iii. 1. 25), device, emblem on an escutcheon. The Quartos read *imprese* in this passage, the Folios *impress*, indicating the growing naturalization of the word. < Ital. *impresa*, 'heraldic device', as being impressed or engraved upon a shield. For the meaning cf. *emblem* < Gk. ἐμβλημα (βάλλω).

**incontinent** (v. 6. 48), forthwith. < F. *incontinent*, 'immediately' (lit. 'without holding oneself in'), so 'with the utmost speed, instantly'.

**inherits** (ii. 1. 83), possesses. M.E. *inheriten*, *enheriten*, < O.F. *en-heriter*, < L. *hereditare*, 'to become heir to'. Current in poetry,

in E. E., in the looser sense of 'possess': by transfer from an act to its *sequel*. Cf. **approved**, above.

**jauncing** (v. 5. 94). From Fr. *jancer*; explained by Cotgrave (as used of a horse) "to stirre a horse in the stable till hee fret withall"; i.e. "to fret the horse to make him prance" (Cl. Pr. edd.). Cotgrave gives as equivalent the E. *jaunt*.

**kerns** (ii. 1. 156). See note.

**knots** (iii. 4. 46). See note.

**lewd** (i. 1. 90), base, dishonourable. M. E. *lewed*, O. E. *lêwed*. The O. E. word is difficult, but probably < Lat. *laïcus* or *laicatus*, 'layman', its regular sense in O. E. The old derivation from O. E. *leōde* (still given without question by the Cl. Pr. edd.) is, as Skeat (s.v.) says, out of the question; but his own derivation from O. E. *lêwan*, 'to weaken, betray', is objectionable on the score of meaning. Cf. Kluge s.v.; Pogatscher, § 340.

**liege** (i. 1. 7), sovereign. M. E. *lige*, *liege*, O. F. *lige*, *liege*, < O. H. G. *ledic*, 'free', 'unrestrained'; hence properly of the feudal suzerain or *liege-lord*, but also applied to his vassals by popular etymology, connecting the word with Lat. *ligare*, 'bind'.

**livery** (ii. 1. 204). See note.

**lodge** (iii. 3. 162), lay low. The verb is M. E. *loggen*, from O. F. *loge*, 'lodge', 'cote'. The word is a Germanic loan-word in the Romance languages, from O. H. G. *louba*, 'hall', 'gallery', 'shed'; probably connected with O. N. *loft*, E. *loft*, but not (as Skeat says) with Germ. *Laub*, 'leaf'. The modern suggestion of *Laub*, in the Germ. *Laube*, 'gallery', 'arbour', is due to popular etymology.—The verb thence meant (1) to settle (trans. and intr.), (2) to put down, deposit, and so lay low.

(858)

**manage** (i. 4. 39; iii. 3. 179), management, control. Originally, like its immediate source O. F. *manège*, a technical term for 'horse-management'. Borrowed apparently early in 16th century. Ultimately from Lat. *man-um*.

**miscreant** (i. 1. 39), wretch. O. F. *mescreant* (= Lat. *minus credentem*), 'mis-believer'.

**model** (i. 2. 28; iii. 2. 153); see note. O. F. *modelle*, Lat. *mod-ellum*, dim. (accus.) of *modus*, 'a measure'.

**moe** (ii. 1. 239), more. M. E. *ma*, *mo*; O. E. *má*, *mæ*, to *māra*, 'greater'; used (1) as a neut. subst., (2) as adv. The former usage, in which it was often coupled with a partitive gen., as '*ma manna*, a greater number of men', i.e. 'more men', led to the E. E. use, in which it was treated as the comp. of *many*, while *more* remained the comp. of *much*. Cf. Sievers, *Angels. Gram.* p. 146; Sweet, *New Eng. Gram.* § 1052 (where "Early M. E. *moe*" should be 'Early Mn. E.').

**motive** (i. 1. 194); see note. M. E. *motif*, O. F. *motif*, Lat. *mot-iv-um*, adj. from *movere*, 'to move'.

**out-dared** (i. 1. 190). See note.

**owe** (iv. i. 185), possess. O. E. *dg*, *dā*, 'possess'. The modern sense arises from the notion of *obligation*, regarded as attaching to a man, like a possession.

**pale** (iii. 4. 40), inclosure; properly the *stake* marking off the space inclosed. M. E. *pal*, < O. F. *pal*, < Lat. *pālus*, 'stake'. Note that the Latin word had been already borrowed in O. E. *pāl*, which by regular sound-change became M. E. *pōl*, Mod. E. *pole*.

**parle** (i. 1. 192), speech with an enemy, opening of negotiations. A shortened form of *parley* (also used by Shakespeare)—perhaps on analogy of such equivalent pairs of

○



words as *part*, *party*. *Parley* < Fr. *parler* (both vb. and subst.).

**pelting** (ii. i. 60), paltry. There were at least two words of this form in E.E.: (1) = 'violent, furious', probably as a metaphor from rain, hail, &c.; especially in the phrase 'to be in a pelting chafe' = 'in a towering passion';—a favourite one in the theological controversy of the time (e.g. in Foxe). (2) = 'petty, paltry, trifling'. This sense like (1) has not been found before c. 1540. Strype (1540) speaks of '*pelting* [i.e. worthless] perdons'; Becon (c. 1560) and Calhill (1565) of '*pelting pedlary*', of the 'pelting pedlar' who puts the best of his pack up; Drant (1567) of '*pelting bables* [baubles] *small*'. It was no doubt a 16th-century formation, of which the following were, perhaps, the steps. (1) The word *paltry*, < Scand. *palter*, rags, had a northern form, *peltrie* (Jamieson), 'trash', &c. (2) The word *peltering* was probably a derivation of this, = 'petty'. e.g. Ferne (1586), 'everye peltring trade in this towne can gather riches'. (3) *Pelster*, = 'a mean, sordid person'. (4) Through association, partly of meaning and partly of form, *pelt*, 'skin', acquired the suggestion of 'trash'; (skins and rags being both dealt in by pedlars; cf. quotations above). So Harman (1567): 'And laye all her other *pelte* and trash upon her also'. (5) Hence, on the analogy: *peltrie*, *pelster*: *peltring* = *pelt*: *pelting*, the present word arose.

**perspectives** (ii. i. 18). See note.

**pill'd** (ii. i. 246), pillaged. M.E. *pillen*, O.E. *pillen*, Lat. *pillare*, 'strip', 'rob', whence also O.F. *peler*, N.E. *pelen*, 'peel'.

**pine** (v. i. 77), cause to suffer. M.E. *pinien*, O.E. *pinian*, < O.E. *pin*, 'torment', < Lat. *poena* (this vowel, *e* in vulgar Latin, regularly giving *i* in O.E.; so *Phnisc*, 'Phœnician'; Pogatscher, § 130). Cf. Chaucer's 'forpined goost'.

**power** (ii. 2. 46), army; a common sense of the M.E. *pouer* < O.F. *pouvoir*, L. Lat. *potere* = *posse* (a concrete use of the infinit. subst. Cf. *manēr* (manor), Lat. < *manere*; *attainder*, q.v.).

**presently** (i. 4. 52, &c.), at once; the almost invariable sense in E.E. Expressions for the present moment, or the *immediate future* or *past*, tend to acquire the looser sense of 'a little interval after (or before) the present'. So O.E. *sóna* (soon) and *on ðn* ('anon'), meant 'at once'; and 'just now', 'but now', originally meant 'at this very moment'.

**proof** (i. 3. 73), power of resisting assault; M.E. *prōve* (beside *prev*, *pereove*) < O.F. *prove*, L. Lat. *proba*. The word meant (1) trying, testing; (2) the state of having been tested or tried (for transition of meaning cf. **approved**, **inherits**, above); hence especially used of weapons, armour, &c., 'arms of proof', 'armed in proof', and the modern 'fire-proof', &c.

**prosecute** (ii. i. 244), follow out; from p. part. of Lat. *prosequor*. Another instance of the 16th-century formation of verbs from past participles; cf. above **determinate**.

**purchase** (i. 3. 282), acquire. M.E. *purchacen*, *purchasen*, O.F. *pourchacier*, compound of *pour* and *chacier*, ultimately from Lat. *captare*, 'seize', 'catch'. The modern sense of acquiring *by payment* is thus a specialization of the original sense, and is the less common sense in Shakespeare.

**quit** (v. i. 43), requite; M.E. *quiten*, O.F. *quiter*, Lat. *quiet-are*, 'set at rest' (a claim, by compensation or return).

**recreant** (i. i. 144; 2. 53), one who weakly surrenders, a coward. O.F. *recreent*, Lat. *re* + *credentem*; properly, 'an apostate to his faith', thence used of the apostasy to the



faith of chivalry implied in dishonourable surrender.

**regreet** (i. 3. 67, 142), accost again. See notes to *greeting* (i. 1. 36) and *regreet* (i. 3. 67). M. E. *greten*, O. E. *grētan*. Note that this verb (formed by mutation from \**grōt-ian*, cf. O. S. *grotian*, and Germ. *gruss*) is wholly distinct from M. E. *greten*, Mod. E. prov. *greet*, 'to weep' (Goth. *grētan*).

**round** (iii. 2. 161), surround; the verb now means rather 'make round' or 'become round'. Only the latter sense is found in Shakespeare. Formed from the adj., M. E. *round*, O. F. *round*, *roond*, Lat. *rotund-um*.

**roundly** (ii. 1. 122), unceremoniously. See note.

**scope** (iii. 3. 112, 140), aim. From Gk. *σχότος*, a mark. It has in E. E. a variety of senses: especially (1) aim, mark, design; iii. 3. 112. (2) That which is included within the limits of a design; so in general. (3) The interval within which one has free play, 'scope' in the modern sense; so iii. 3. 140.

**securely** (ii. 1. 266), in excess of confidence. Lat. *securus* (*sē* [for *sed*] + *cura*, 'without anxiety'). The modern sense of *being* as well as *feeling* safe is also common in Shakespeare. The same development has taken place in the other derivatives from Lat. *securus* (M. E. *siker*, M. E. *seur* through O. F., W. *sicr*, Germ. *sicher*). It naturally came about as European society acquired stability and fixity, i.e. as the 'sense of security' became less *deceptive*.

**shadow** (ii. 2. 14; iv. 1. 292), image. M. E. *schadewe*. O. E. *sceadw-* (the stem of Nom. *sceadu*, which appears in Mod. E. *shade*). In E. E. it has the sense of 'image', 'likeness', as well as that of Mod. E. 'shadow', of course from the repetition of the profile in the shadow.

**sheer** (v. 3. 61). See note.

**shrewd** (iii. 2. 59), destructive. M. E. *schrewed*, see *beshrew* above; and cf. the use of the adj. with 'steel' to the O. E. use of *blitan*, 'to cleave', *'bite* (of a sword)', and *biter*, e.g. *biter stræl*, 'piercing dart', &c.

**signories** (iii. 1. 22), lordships; one of the numerous Ital. loan-words of the 16th century, and used, like 'signior', without exclusive reference to Italy. Ital. *signoria*, < Lat. *senior-em*, 'older'.

**sooth** (iii. 3. 136), from O. E. *sōð*. (1) true; (2) truth; (3) 'assenting to a statement as true'; so flattery, cajoling. Hence "words of sooth", iii. 3. 136; and the verb 'to soothe'.

**sort** (iv. 1. 246), set. O. F. *sorte* < Lat. *sort-em*. The development of the meaning is (1) 'fate'; (2) the 'qualities' allotted by fate; (3) the class or 'kind' of things having those qualities in common. In Mod. E. the third sense always implies some intrinsic resemblance in the things. In E. E. it was often used of mere local connection: 'a group', 'set', as here. Cf. the word *lot*.

**suggest** (i. 1. 101), criminally prompt. M. E. *suggesten*, from p. part. of Lat. *suggerere*. For other verbs from p. participles see **determine**. The notion of 'prompting to evil' is common in M. E., and usual in E. E.

**supplant** (ii. 1. 156), root or drive out. M. E. *supplanten*, Fr. *supplanter*, Lat. *subplantare*, 'to trip up a person by putting something under his foot-sole (*planta*)'. The original sense was more distinct in E. E. than now. Cotgrave (quoted by Skeat s.v.) equates *supplant* with 'root or trip up'.

**tall** (ii. 1. 286), large and well-equipped, excellent of their kind. M. E. *tal*, "seemly, docile, elegans"

(Bradley *s.v.*). O.E. *ge-tal*. The E. E. sense, in which *size* and *excellent quality* are both implied, mediates between the M. E. sense and the Mod. E. reference to *size* only. Thus it is often used of *good soldiers* (like 'stout', 'sturdy', in Mod. E.),

"and carry back to Sicily much tall youth  
That else must perish here"

*Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. 6. 7.

but in this sense was mostly colloquial or vulgar (cf. Schmidt *s.v.*). Similarly of *ships* here. So, the modern bookseller still recommends his 'tall copy' of an old book. For other instances of the development of a reference to *size* (great or small) from terms of approval, or *vice versa*, cf. M. H. G. *klein*, 'delicate', 'elegant'; N. H. G. *klein*, 'small'; Gk. *κόσμος*; Lat. *grac-ilis*, 'slender', 'graceful'; Lat. *tener*, 'tender', 'thin'.

**tatter'd** (iii. 3. 52).

**temper** (iv. 1. 29). See note. Noun formed from the verb, < M. E. *tempren*, O. E. *ge-temprian*, < Lat. *temperare*, 'moderate', 'bring to proper quality'.

**tender** (i. 1. 32), hold dear; vb. formed from the adj.; cf. Abbott, § 290, *tender*, < Fr. *tendre*, < Lat. *tener-um* (*tener*).

**to** (i. 3. 244), introducing an accompanying circumstance, with infin. nearly = *in-ing*. See note.

**trade** (iii. 3. 156), traffic, intercourse. Ultimately from O. E. *tredan*, but apparently first formed in 16th century from the preterite or p. part. of the verb (*trad*, *traden*

or *troden*). The M. E. noun is *trede*, 'tread', 'footstep'. The meaning 'intercourse' arose through the intermediate sense 'path', found in Surrey's *Aeneid*: "A common trade, to pass through Priam's house".

**undeaf** (ii. 1. 16), make not deaf, give hearing to. See note.

**underbearing** (i. 4. 29), supporting. M. E. *underberen*, O. E. *underberan*.

**unhappied** (iii. 1. 10), made unhappy.

**wanton** (v. 3. 10), unrestrained, licentious; M. E. *wan-toȝen*, 'unregulated', 'ill-bred'; O. E. *teón*, 'draw'.

**warder** (i. 3. 117), staff. M. E. *warder* (*Prompt. Parv.* quoted Bradley, for 'bacillus'), *wardrere*, 'club', < *wardien*, O. E. *weardian*, 'guard'.

**wistly** (v. 4. 7). See note.

**wot** (ii. 1. 250), know. M. E. *wot*, O. E. *wát*, 1 and 3 pers. sg. pres. of the preterito-present verb *wit-an*.

**yearn'd** (v. 5. 76). See note.

**yond** (iii. 3. 91), there, yonder. M. E. *Ʒond*, O. E. *geond*. In O. E. and usually in M. E. the adv. and prep. *geond*, *Ʒond*, was kept apart from the adj. *geon*, M. E. *yon*. In E. E. they are much confused, and the old texts of Shakespeare observe no consistent rule in their use

## INDEX OF WORDS.

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(The references are to the notes *ad loc.* Other words will be found in the *Glossary.*)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>             abide, v. 5. 22.<br/>             accomplish'd, ii. 1. 177.<br/>             affects, i. 4. 30.<br/>             amazing, i. 3. 81.<br/>             an if, iv. 1. 49.<br/>             appeal, i. 1. 4.<br/>             apprehension, i. 3. 300.<br/>             apriocks, iii. 4. 29.<br/>             ask, ii. 1. 159.<br/>             aspect, i. 3. 127.<br/>             atone, i. 1. 202.<br/>             attorney-general, ii. 1. 203.<br/> <br/>             baffled, i. 1. 170.<br/>             band, i. 1. 2.<br/>             base court, iii. 3. 176.<br/>             beadsmen, iii. 2. 116.<br/>             benevolences, ii. 1. 250.<br/>             bills, iii. 2. 119.<br/>             brittle, iv. 1. 287.<br/>             broking, ii. 1. 293.<br/>             brooch, v. 5. 66.<br/>             buzz, ii. 1. 26.<br/> <br/>             career, i. 2. 49.<br/>             careful, ii. 2. 75.<br/>             choler, i. 1. 153.<br/>             compassionate, i. 3. 174.<br/>             consequently, i. 1. 102.<br/>             cousin, i. 2. 46.<br/>             current, i. 3. 231.<br/> <br/>             dead time, iv. 1. 10.<br/>             deal, i. 3. 269.<br/>             dear, i. 1. 30; 3. 156.<br/>             defend, i. 3. 18.<br/>             deliver, iii. 3. 34.<br/>             determinate, i. 3. 150.<br/>             dispark'd, iii. 1. 23.<br/>             divine, iii. 4. 79.         </p> | <p>             ears, iii. 3. 34.<br/>             earth, ii. 1. 41.<br/>             ensue, ii. 1. 197.<br/>             envy, ii. 1. 49.<br/>             even, i. 3. 77.<br/>             expedience, ii. 1. 287.<br/>             faced, iv. 1. 285.<br/>             fall (trans.), iii. 4. 104.<br/>             fire, i. 3. 294.<br/>             for, i. 3. 125.<br/>             friends, i. 4. 22.<br/>             furbish, i. 3. 76.<br/> <br/>             glose, ii. 1. 10.<br/>             greeting, i. 1. 36.<br/>             grief, i. 3. 258.<br/>             hateful, ii. 2. 138.<br/>             hold, iii. 4. 83.<br/>             humours, v. 5. 10.<br/> <br/>             imp, ii. 1. 292.<br/>             impeached, i. 1. 170.<br/>             in, i. 3. 284.<br/>             infection, ii. 1. 44.<br/>             inhabitable, i. 1. 65.<br/>             inherit, i. 1. 85.<br/>             inn, v. 1. 13.<br/>             interchangeably, i. 1. 146.<br/>             Jack o' the clock, v. 5. 60.<br/>             jest, i. 3. 95.<br/> <br/>             kerns, ii. 1. 156.<br/>             kin, kind, iv. 1. 140.<br/>             knave, ii. 2. 96.<br/>             knots, iii. 4. 46.<br/> <br/>             letters patents, ii. 1. 202.<br/>             liberal, ii. 1. 229.<br/>             lining, i. 4. 61.<br/>             look'd, i. 3. 243.         </p> |
|--|---|

make-peace, i. 1. 160.  
 marshal, i. 1. 204.  
 measure, i. 3. 291.  
 me rather had, iii. 3. 192.  
 merit, i. 3. 156.  
 model, i. 2. 28; iii. 2. 153.  
 motive, i. 1. 193.  
 much (adv.), ii. 2. 1.  
 nicely, ii. 1. 84.  
 noble (coin), i. 1. 88; v. 5. 68.  
 note, i. 1. 43.  
 object, i. 1. 28.  
 obscene, iv. 1. 131.  
 of, i. 1. 27.  
 on, i. 1. 9.  
 other, i. 1. 22.  
 part, iii. 1. 3.  
 partialize, i. 1. 120.  
 perspective, ii. 2. 18.  
 pitch, i. 1. 109.  
 plays, iii. 2. 9.  
 precedent, ii. 1. 130.  
 prodigy, ii. 2. 64.  
 property, iii. 2. 135.  
 rankle, i. 3. 302.  
 receipt, i. 1. 126.  
 regard, ii. 1. 28.  
 regret, i. 3. 67.  
 respect, ii. 1. 25.  
 ribs, iii. 3. 32.  
 rightly, ii. 2. 18.  
 roundly, ii. 1. 122.  
 royal, v. 5. 68.  
 royalties, ii. 1. 190.  
 rubs, iii. 4. 4.  
 rue, iii. 4. 106.

securely, ii. 1. 266.  
 self, i. 2. 23; iii. 2. 166.  
 self-borne, ii. 3. 80.  
 shadows, ii. 2. 14.  
 shall, i. 1. 160; iv. 1. 232.  
 sheer, v. 3. 61.  
 sift, i. 1. 12.  
 sights, iv. 1. 315.  
 sing, ii. 1. 263.  
 sit, ii. 1. 265.  
 sly, i. 3. 150.  
 some thing, ii. 2. 12.  
 state, i. 3. 190; ii. 1. 114.  
 strongly, ii. 2. 48.  
 suggest, i. 1. 101.  
 sunshine (adj.), iv. 1. 221.  
 sympathy, iv. 1. 33.  
 tatter'd, iii. 3. 52.  
 tendering, i. 1. 32.  
 that (without rel.), ii. 2. 52.  
 the death, iii. 1. 29.  
 timeless, iv. 1. 5.  
 to (locative), i. 3. 244.  
 trial, i. 1. 48.  
 triumphs, v. 2. 52.  
 underbearing, i. 4. 29.  
 unthrifty, v. 3. 1.  
 upon pain of life, i. 3. 140.  
 verge, ii. 1. 102.  
 wanton, i. 3. 214.  
 warder, i. 3. 118.  
 waste, ii. 1. 103.  
 will, ii. 1. 242; iv. 1. 232.  
 with, ii. 1. 28.  
 world, iv. 1. 78.  
 yearn, v. 5. 76.

## GENERAL INDEX.

- able (active), ii. 3. 84; iii. 2. 36.  
 absolute clause, iii. 2. 168, 3. 159; iv. I. 116, 226; v. I. 61.  
 adjective, as genitive of substantive, i. 3. 90, 241; ii. 3. 79.  
 „ as noun, i. I. 119; i. 3. 143.  
 „ as verb, ii. I. 16; iii. I. 10.  
 „ for adverb, i. 4. 54.  
 „ idiomatic use of, i. I. 24, 191.  
 „ proleptic, i. 3. 75.  
 „ separated from its determinants, iii. I. 9.  
 adverb qualifying verb implied in verbal noun, ii. I. 290.  
*ἀπὸ κοινῶς*, ii. I. 173.  
 Barkloughly, iii. 2. I.  
 Coleridge quoted, i. I. 41-6, 117; 3. 156, 213-253; ii. I. *init.*,  
 73-84, 163; 2. 89; iii. 2. *init.*, 3. 21-61, 4. *init.*  
 conception of the soul in English poetry, i. 3. 196.  
 cross alliteration, ii. I. 35, 52.  
 Darmesteter quoted, v. 5. *init.*  
 Death the antic, iii. 2. 160-163.  
 double comparative, ii. I. 49.  
 Dowden quoted, v. I. 16, 3. 119; 5. *init.*, 78-80.  
 dramatic irony, i. 3. 48-51; ii. I. 219-20.  
 -ed suffix, ii. I. 268.  
 Ely-house, i. 4. 58.  
 Elizabethan patriotism, i. 3. 154.  
 English confectionery, i. 3. 67-8.  
 extended suffix, i. 3. 3.  
 fratres jurati, v. I. 20.  
 Gaunt's word-play illustrated from Sophocles, ii. I. 73 84.  
 gerundial infinitive, i. 3. 244, 256; ii. I. 85.  
 Hallowmas, v. I. 80.  
 Hazlitt quoted, ii. 2. *init.*  
 Hudson quoted, v. 5. *init.*  
 imagery from blots and stains, i. 3. 202; ii. I. 4; iii. 4. 81; iv. I. 236,  
 324-5; v. 3. 66.  
 Julius Cæsar's tower, v. I. 2.  
 King Cophetua, v. 3. 80.  
 kissing, v. I. 74-5.  
 Kreyssig quoted, i. 3. 226; ii. I. 224; iii. 3. 60, 72; iv. I. 268;  
 v. 3. 49.  
 -less passive, iii. 2. 23.  
 Ludwig quoted, i. I. 87 108, 196-205, 2. 58-74.

- man as a microcosm, v. 5. 9.  
 -*man* enclitic, i. 3. 276.  
 objective genitive, i. 1. 118.  
 omission of preposition, i. 1. 26.  
 omission of *the*, i. 3. 136.  
*out-* (prefix), i. 1. 190.  
 parallel clauses, iii. 3. 146.  
 Pater quoted, i. 3. *init.*  
 peine forte et dure, iii. 4. 72.  
 pelican, ii. 1. 126.  
 periodical bleeding, i. 1. 157.  
 Phaethon, iii. 3. 178.  
 Plashy, i. 2. 66.  
 possessives in E. E., ii. 2. 101.  
 prophecies of dying people, ii. 1. 56.  
 Ransome quoted, i. 3. 178-190; ii. 1. 146, 241-2; 2. 3, 9; iii. 1. *init.*;  
     v. 1. 11-15.  
 rapier, iv. 1. 40.  
 Ravenspurgh, ii. 1. 296.  
 relative, free use of, i. 1. 172.  
 rhymed couplet, i. 1. 41-2.  
 rhymed quatrain, ii. 1. 9-12; iii. 2. 76-79.  
 Richard's extravagance, i. 4. 43.  
 Shakespeare's allusions to Roman usages, iii. 4. 99; his opening  
     scenes, i. 1. *init.*; his personification of Death, ii. 1. 270; his  
     dramatic use of irregular metre, ii. 2. 98-122; his use of prose,  
     i. 3. 249; iii. 4. 29.  
 short lines, iv. 1. 1, 2.  
 singular verb after relative, ii. 2. 15.  
     ,,       ,,       with plural subject, ii. 1. 258; iii. 3. 168, 185.  
*στιχομυθία*, i. 3. 258-67.  
 substantive as adjective, i. 4. 20; ii. 1. 19.  
 textual variations, i. 3. 20, 150, 156; ii. 1. 18, 62, 246-8, 280;  
     2. 57, 110; 3. 75, 80; iii. 2. 29, 38, 40, 122; 4. 11; iv. 1. 55;  
     v. 5. 8.  
 Westminster Hall, iv. 1. *init.*

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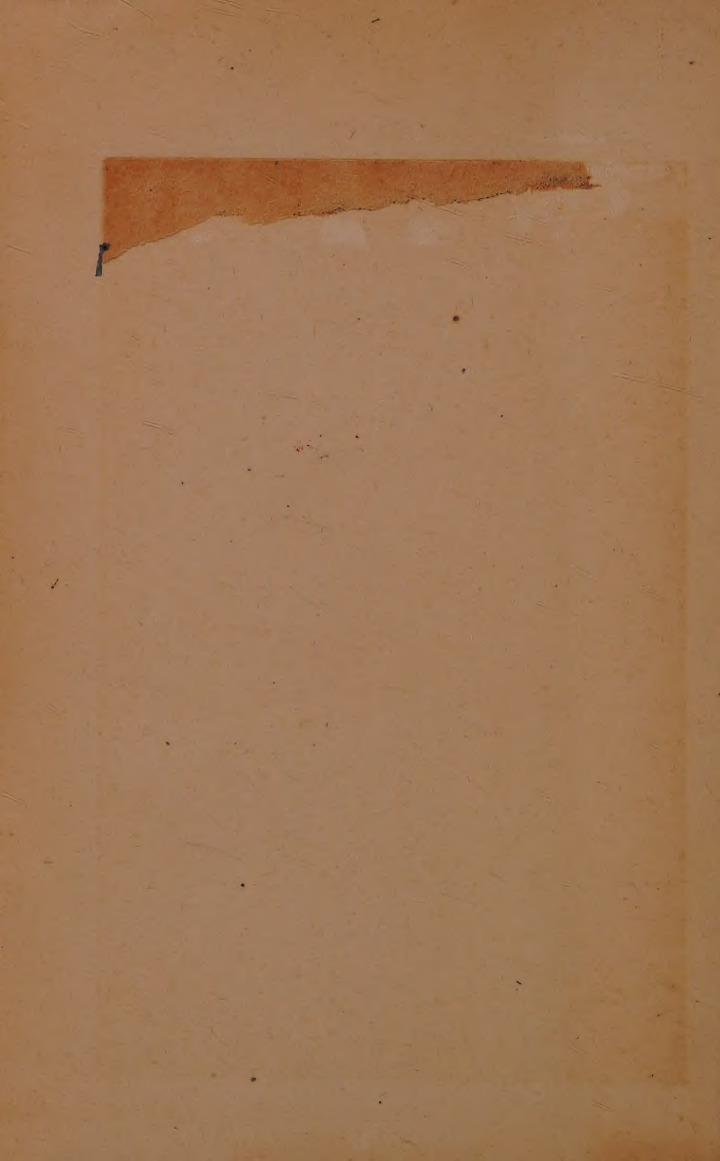
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